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Volume First

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JAMES MACLEHOSE AND SONS

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The Lives of Authors

A STUDENT of history, who has to contend every day with the scarcity and inaccuracy of human records, finds himself forced to admit that men are wise, and care little for fame. Each generation of men goes about its business and its pleasure with immense energy and zest; each, when it has passed away, leaves the historians of a later era to spell out what they can from a few broken stones and torn scraps of parchment. The opinion of Shakespeare, that

‘Nothing ‘gainst Time’s scythe can make defence
Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence,’

is the opinion of the sane world; and the desire for posthumous fame, ‘that last infirmity of noble minds,’ is a rare infirmity. The Romans were content to bequeathe to us their blood and their law. If every human creature were provided with some separate and permanent memorial, we could not walk in the fields for tombstones.

I desire in the following paper to trace the late and gradual growth of an interest in the Lives of English Authors, and to give some brief account of the earlier collections of printed biographies. Biography is not the least valuable part of modern literary history, and its origin is to be found in the new conceptions of literature and of history which were introduced at the time of the Renaissance. In the Middle Ages a writer was wholly identified with his work. His personal habits and private vicissitudes of fortune excited little curiosity; Vincent of Beauvais and Godfrey of Viterbo are the names not so much of two men as of two books. Literature was regarded as the chief means of preserving and promulgating ancient truths and

S.H.R. VOL. I.

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traditions ; and authors were mechanical scribes, recorders, and compilers. The distinction between fact and fiction, which we all make to-day with so airy a confidence, was hardly known to the mediaeval writer. Even the bard who celebrated the exploits of Arthur, the Christian king, or of Fierabras, the Pagan giant, based his claim to credit on the historical truth of his narrative, and supported himself by the authority of the books from which he copied. Poet or historian, he would have been indignant to be refused the name of copyist. Whence should he derive his wisdom but from the old books whose lessons he desired to hand on to coming generations ?—

‘For out of oldè feldès, as men seith,
Cometh al this newè corn from yeer to yeer ;
And out of oldè bokès, in good feith,
Cometh al this newè science that men lere.’

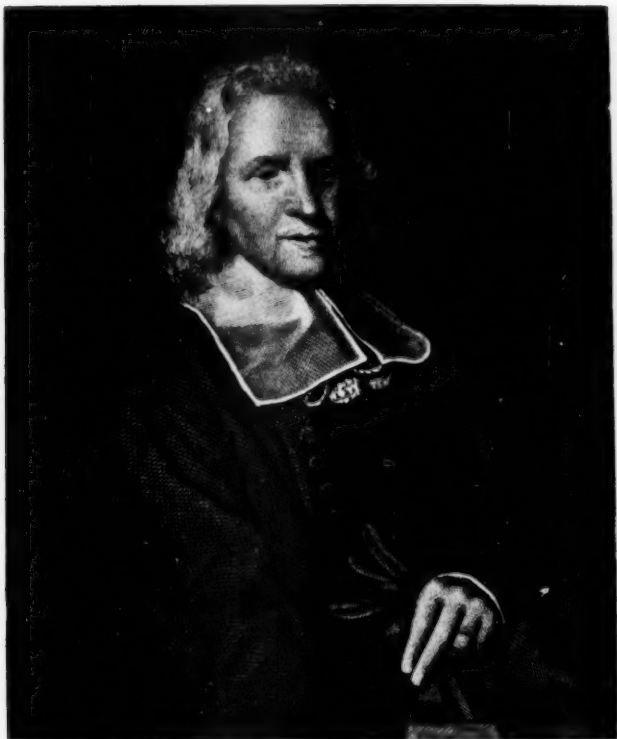
While this was the dominant conception of art and of science, of history and of literature, authors were, in every sense of the word, a humble class. Where it was their function to instruct, they were conduit-pipes for the wisdom of the ages ; where they set themselves to amuse, they held a rank not far above that of the professional jesters and minstrels who were attached as servitors to the household of some great lord or king.

With the revival of letters in the Sixteenth Century there came the first serious attempt to put on record such facts as could be recovered concerning the great writers who had flourished in these islands. The dissolution of the monasteries caused the destruction of so large a mass of valuable material that it was impossible for scholars to stand by without making an effort to save some remnants. Leland, Bale, and Pits, whose joint activity covers the whole of the Sixteenth Century, each of them made a collection of the lives and works of the writers of Great Britain. Three of the most conspicuous features of later antiquarian learning are exemplified in their work, as it is estimated by Fuller : ‘*J. Leland*,’ he says, ‘is the industrious *bee*, working all : *J. Bale*’ is the angry *wasp*, stinging all : *J. Pits* is the idle *drone*, stealing all.’ But these three men made no new departure in method. The bulk of the writers whom they commemorated were monks and friars, concerning whom biographical details were wholly to seek. Their works, which were compounded, with large additions, into a single folio volume by Bishop Tanner, can hardly be said to exhibit the faint beginnings of modern biography.

It is difficult to persuade man that his contemporaries are interesting and important persons. The industrious scholar bars his doors and windows, and shuts himself up in his room, that he may bequeathe to future ages his views on the Primitive Church or the Egyptian Dynasties. His works, too often, go to swell the dust-heap of learning. And what is going on in the street, on the other side of his shutter, is what future ages will probably desire, and desire in vain, to know. At the time of the Renaissance, when writers of knowledge and power were Latinists and scholars, who had been nurtured in an almost superstitious veneration for the ancient classics, the poor playwright or poet in the vernacular tongue was little likely to engage the labours of a learned pen. Those Elizabethan authors whose lives are fairly well known to us were always something other than mere authors,—men of noble family, it may be, or distinguished in politics and war. We know more of Sir Walter Raleigh's career than of Shakespeare's, and more of Essex than of Spenser. On the other hand, while the works of Shakespeare and Spenser have come down to us almost intact, most of the poems of Raleigh and Essex are lost. Men of position held professional authorship in some contempt, and wrote only for the delectation of their private friends. And when Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, wrote a brief life of his friend and ancient schoolfellow, Sir Philip Sidney, it was not the author of the *Arcadia* or the *Sonnets* that he desired to celebrate, but rather the statesman of brilliant promise and the soldier whose death had put a nation into mourning. So that this ceremonial little treatise, which is the earliest notable English life of an English poet, is the life of a poet almost by accident.

With the Seventeenth Century, a century rich in all antiquarian and historical learning, literary biography begins. Early in the century, Thomas Heywood, the dramatist, planned a volume to contain 'the lives of all the poets, foreign and modern, from the first before Homer to the *novissimi* and last.' He never carried out his scheme, and so we have lost an invaluable work. But his other prose works and compilations give us reason to fear that his *Lives* would have been borrowed almost wholly from books and would have contained all too little of direct impression or reminiscence. The scheme for a complete account of the lives of English poets was not taken up again till towards the close of the century, and then Shakespeare and the Elizabethans were beyond the reach of living memory.

Nevertheless, during the course of the century poets began to find biographers. The patriotic impulse that had produced the Elizabethan Chronicles, and Camden's *Britannia*, and Drayton's *Polyolbion* moved Thomas Fuller to write his *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), which included the lives of many poets. In undertaking this work Fuller proposed to himself five ends—'first, to give some glory to God; secondly, to preserve the memories of the dead; thirdly, to present examples to the living; fourthly, to entertain the reader with delight; and lastly (which I am not ashamed publicly to profess) to procure some honest profit to myself.' He died a year before his book appeared, so he failed in the last of his aims. He did his best to make his subject attractive to readers. 'I confess,' he says, 'the subject is but dull in itself, to tell the time and place of men's birth, and deaths, their names, with the names and number of their books; and therefore this bare skeleton of time, place, and person must be fleshed with some pleasant passages. To this intent I have purposely interlaced . . . many delightful stories.' He will always be valued for the facts that he records and for the many surprising turns of fanciful wit with which he relieves the monotony of his work. In endeavouring to make his biographies literary he had the advantage of a matchless model. For before Fuller wrote, Izaak Walton had produced two of his famous *Lives*. Walton was drawn into the writing of biography by his desire to leave the world some memorial of the virtues of men whom he had known. The men whom he chose for his subject were men like-minded with himself, men who had studied to be quiet, 'to keep themselves in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessing spring out of their mother earth.' The *Life of Dr. John Donne*, Dean of St. Paul's, the first that he wrote, was contributed as preface to a collection of Donne's sermons in 1640. Sir Henry Wotton, whose *Life* appeared in 1651, had been Walton's friend and fellow angler during the quiet years that he spent at Eton College after his retirement from the service of the State—'the College being to his mind as a quiet harbour to a seafaring man after a tempestuous voyage. . . . Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling' (for an angler, according to Walton, is born, not made), 'which he would usually call "his idle time not idly spent"; saying often, he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers.' To these two lives Walton subsequently added three more, the



ISAAK WALTON

From a print in the Bodleian of the engraving by Philip Audinet

Lives of Mr. Richard Hooker, Mr. George Herbert, and Dr. Robert Sanderson, the last being written almost forty years later than the Life of Donne. Walton had not known all these men, though they were all contemporary with his long life. But he was drawn by natural sympathy to their characters, and his portraits of them are masterpieces of delicate insight.

Indeed, Walton's *Lives* are almost too perfect to serve as models. They are obituary poems; each of them has the unity and the melody of a song or a sonnet; they deal with no problems, but sing the praises of obscure beneficence and a mind that seeks its happiness in the shade. No English writer before Walton had so skilfully illustrated men's natural disposition and manners from the most casual acts and circumstances. It is not in the crisis of great events that he paints his heroes, but in their most retired contemplations and the ordinary round of their daily life. We see Hooker as he was found by his pupils at Drayton Beauchamp tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field, with the *Odes* of Horace in his hands, and hear him called away by the voice of his wife to rock the cradle; we find George Herbert tolling the bell and serving at the altar of his little Church at Bemerton, and overhear his conversations with his parishioners by the roadside; we come upon Dr. Sanderson, a man whose only infirmities were that he was too timorous and bashful, as Walton met him in the bookseller's quarter of Little Britain, where he had been to buy a book; we notice that he is dressed 'in sad-coloured clothes, and, God knows, far from being costly'; and, on the sudden coming-on of a shower of rain, we are allowed to accompany him and his biographer to 'a cleanly house,' where they have bread, cheese, ale, and a fire for their money, and where we are permitted to overhear their talk on the troubles of the times. Or we see Dr. John Donne dressed in his winding sheet, with his face exposed and his eyes shut, standing for his picture in his study that so his portrait when it was finished might serve to keep him in mind of his death. All these sketches and many more in Walton's *Lives* are as perfect, in their way, as the *Idylls* of Theocritus.

Intimate biography of this kind was the creation or the Seventeenth Century, and Walton had many followers and disciples. Some of the formal collections of Lives are little better, it is true, than compilations of dry facts and dates. The *Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum* (1675) by Milton's nephew,

Edward Phillips; the *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687) by William Winstanley, an industrious barber, who stole from Phillips as Phillips had stolen from Fuller; the *Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691) by Gerard Langbaine; Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *De Re Poetica, or Remarks upon Poetry, with Characters and Censures of the most considerable Poets* (1694)—all these are valuable as authorities, but they draw no portraits of authors in their habit as they lived, and intrude upon no privacy. Even where the material for a familiar and life-like portrait existed it was too often suppressed in the supposed interests of the dignity of literature. Sprat in his *Life of Cowley* (1667) confesses that he had a large collection of Cowley's letters to his private friends, in which were expressed 'the Native tenderness and Innocent gayety of his Mind.' But 'nothing of this nature,' says Sprat, 'should be published. . . . In such Letters the Souls of Men should appear undress'd: And in that negligent habit, they may be fit to be seen by one or two in a Chamber, but not to go abroad into the Streets.' So we have lost the letters of a man whom we can easily believe to have been the best letter-writer of his century and country.

Nevertheless, some familiar details have escaped suppression; not all the literary portraits of the time are conventional and stiff. Edward Phillips' *Life of John Milton* (1694), prefixed to an edition of Milton's Latin letters, preserves for us some minute and personal reminiscences of the poet. Moreover, the Seventeenth Century is rich in religious biography, written with a homiletic and didactic intent. The *Lives of Eminent Persons* (1683) by Samuel Clarke, although, like the mediaeval *Lives of Saints*, they are too monotonously alike, too little quickened with the caprices and humours of the unregenerate, yet occasionally display, in the interstices between Biblical quotation and edifying sentiment, real glimpses of living human character. But evangelical biography, which attempts to exhibit human life as a design nearly resembling a fixed pattern, has never been strong in portrait-painting. These sketches are seen to be merely childish in conception and execution if they be set beside the vivid and masterly work of John Aubrey, the best of Seventeenth Century gossips. He was despised by his learned contemporaries for an idle man of fashion and a pretender to antiquities. Anthony à Wood, the author of that great work the *Athenae Oxonienses*—perhaps the most valuable of all early biographical collections—speaks of Aubrey as 'a shiftless person,

roving and magotieheaded, and sometimes little better than crased.' Yet Aubrey had the true spirit of an antiquary; nothing was too trivial to be set down in his *Brief Lives*. He records how, walking through Newgate Street, he saw a bust of the famous Dame Venetia Stanley in a brasier's shop, with the gilding on it destroyed by the Great Fire of London, and regrets that he could never see the bust again, for 'they melted it down.' 'How these curiosities,' he adds, 'would be quite forgott, did not such idle fellows as I am putt them downe!'

And we owe to Aubrey a world of anecdote that but for his idleness would have been lost. He has the quickest eye for the odd humours and tricks of thought and gesture which distinguish one man from another. He was credulous, no doubt, for he was insatiably inquisitive, and the possibilities of human nature seemed to him to be inexhaustible. Character is what he loves, and he found the characters of men to be full of novelties and surprises. To him we owe the portrait of Hobbes the philosopher, at the age of ninety, lying in bed, and, when he was sure that the doors were barred and nobody heard him (for he had not a good voice), singing from a printed book of airs, to strengthen his lungs and prolong his life. Again, he tells how Thomas Fuller, the historian, had a memory so good that 'he would repeate to you forwards and backwards all the signes from Ludgate to Charing Crosse.' Or how Sir John Suckling, the poet, when he was at his lowest ebb in gaming, 'would make himselfe most glorious in apparell, and sayd that it exalted his spirits.' Or how William Prynne, the Puritan chastiser of the theatre, studied after this manner: 'He wore a long quilt cap, which came 2 or 3, at least, inches over his eies, which served him as an umbrella to defend his eies from the light. About every 3 houres his man was to bring him a roll and a pott of ale to refocillate his wasted spirits. So he studied and dranke and munched some bread: and this maintained him till night; and then he made a good supper.' Sometimes it is a witty saying or happy retort that sticks in Aubrey's memory. So he relates of Sir Henry Savile, Provost of Eton, that he could not abide *Wits*; 'when a young scholar was recommended to him for a good witt, *Out upon him*, says he, *I'll have nothing to do with him; give me the plodding student. If I would look for witts I would goe to Newgate, there be the witts.*' Again, he tells how Sir Walter Raleigh, dining with his graceless son at a nobleman's table, when his son made a profane and immodest speech, struck him over the face. 'His son, as rude as

he was, would not strike his father, but strikes over the face the gentleman that sate next to him, and sayd : " Box about : 'twill come to my father anon." "

Aubrey takes as keen a delight as Samuel Pepys himself in the use of his natural senses, and his zest in observation sometimes gives an air of exaggeration to his recorded impressions. Of Sir Henry Savile he says, 'He was an extraordinary handsome and beautiful man; no lady had a finer complexion.' Of Sir William Petty, 'He is a proper handsome man, measured six foot high, good head of browne haire moderately turning up. . . . His eies are a kind of goose-grey, but very short-sighted, and, as to aspect, beautifull, and promise sweetnes of nature, and they do not deceive, for he is a marvellous good-natured person.' Aubrey's unbounded faculty for enjoyment and admiration is seen even in his description of the mechanical contrivances and scientific inventions that were shown to him by his friends. Now it is a new kind of well—'the most ingenious and useful bucket well that ever I saw. . . . 'Tis extremely well worth the seeing.' Or it is a device for relieving those who are troubled with phlegm,— 'a fine tender sprig,' with a rag tied at the end to put down the throat of the patient. 'I could never make it goe downe my throat,' says Aubrey, 'but for those that can 'tis a most incomparable engine.' And there is nothing that he takes more delight in than a funeral or an obituary monument. His descriptions of tombstones almost make you feel that it is worth the pains of dying to get so admirable a thing contrived in your honour. Of Selden he says :

'He was magnificently buried in the Temple Church. . . . His grave was about ten foot deepe, or better, walled up a good way with bricks, of which also the bottome was paved, but the sides at the bottome for about two foot high were of black polished marble, wherein his coffin (covered with black bayes) lyeth, and upon that wall of marble was presently let downe a huge black marble stone of great thicknesse, with this inscription :

Heic jacet corpus Johannis Seldeni.

. . . Over this was turned an inch of brick . . . and upon that was throwne the earth, etc., and on the surface lieth another finer grave-stone of black marble with this inscription :

I. Seldenus I. C. heic situs est.

. . . On the side of the wall above is a fine inscription of white marble : the epitaph he made himself'

This is merely one instance of Aubrey's loving care for grave-stones and monuments. He recognised them perhaps as being



JOHN AUBREY: AETAT. 40

From a pen-and-ink drawing in the Bodleian

The Lives of Authors

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among the best friends of the antiquary, and desired that they should receive all care and honour. Of Ben Jonson he says :

'He lies buried in the north aisle of Westminster Abbey, in the path of square stone (the rest is lozenge) opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus de Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement square, of blew marble, about 14 inches square,

O RARE BEN JOHNSON,

which was donne at the chardge of Jack Young (afterwards knighted) who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteenpence to cutt it.'

And Aubrey did not forget his own epitaph. Among his papers he left two suggestions, made at different times, for an inscription to be placed on his tomb. 'I would desire,' he says at the foot of one of these, 'that this Inscription sho^d be a stone of white M^{ble} about the bigness of a royal sheet of paper, scilicet about 2 foot square. Mr. Reynolds of Lambeth, Stone-cutter (Foxhall), who married Mr. Elias Ashmole's widow, will help me to a Marble as square as an imperial sheet of paper for 8 shillings.'

But Aubrey's greatest quality as an antiquary is his sympathy with the living, and with life in all its phases. He writes best when he is recording his memories of men that he had seen and known. Where these men were famous, and remembered by after generations, his vivid phrases have long since been embodied in biographical dictionaries. Some of his best work, however, is done on perishable names, and no better example of his art can be found than his account of Dr. Ralph Kettell, for forty-five years President of Trinity College, Oxford, a humorous pedagogue of the old school, who died soon after Aubrey came into residence at the College :

'He dyed a yeare after I came to the Colledge, and he was then a good deale above 80 (quaere aetatem), and he had then a fresh ruddy complexion. He was a very tall well-growne man. His gowne and surplice and hood being on, he had a terrible gigantesque aspect, with his sharp gray eies. . . . He was, they say, white very soon ; he had a very venerable presence, and was an excellent governour. One of his maxims of governing was to keepe down the *juvenilis impetus*. . . . One of the fellowes (in Mr. Francis Potter's time) was wont to say that Dr. Kettel's braine was like a *hasty-pudding where there was memorie, judgement, and phancy all stirred together*. If you had to doe with him, taking him for a foole, you would have found in him great subtilty and reach : *è contra*, if you treated with him as a wise man, you would have mistaken him for a foole. . . . He observed that the howses that had the smallest beer had most drunkards, for

it forced them to goe into the town to comfort their stomachs : wherefore Dr. Kettle alwayes had in his College excellent beer, not better to be had in Oxon ; so that we could not goe to any other place but for the worse, and we had the fewest drunkards of any howse in Oxford. . . . He was irreconcilable to long haire ; called them hairy scalpes, and as for peri-wigges (which were then very rarely worne) he beleev'd them to be the scalpes of men cutt off after they were hang'd, and so tanned and dressed for use. When he observed the scholars' haire longer then ordinary (especially if they were scholars of the howse), he would bring a paire of cizers in his muffle (which he commonly wore), and woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table. I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's haire with the knife that chipps the bread on the buttery-hatch. . . . He dragg'd with one (*i.e.* right) foot a little, by which he gave warning (like the rattle-snake) of his coming. . . . He preach't every Sunday at his parsonage at Garsington (about 5 miles off). He rode on his bay gelding, with his boy Ralph before him, with a leg of mutton (commonly) and some colledge bread. He did not care for the country revells, because they tended to debauchery. Sayd he, at Garsington revell, *Here is Hey for Garsington! and Hey Hockly!* but *here's nobody cries, Hey for God Almighty!* . . . 'Tis probable this venerable Dr. might have lived some yeares longer, and finish his century, had not those civill wars come on : which much grieved him, that was wont to be absolute in the colledge, to be affronted and dis-respected by rude soldiers. . . . His dayes were shortned, and dyed (July) anno Domini 1643, and was buried at Garsington : quære his epitaph.

The abundant human sympathy that takes delight in all these passing incidents and trivial characteristics is a necessary part of the equipment of an antiquary. The whole tribe of antiquaries suffers under the false imputation that their work is 'dry-as-dust.' No doubt there are minute, exact, and arid minds in that, as in other callings. No doubt there is useful work to be done, here as elsewhere, by men who ply a dull mechanical trade and forswear imagination. But imaginative sympathy is, none the less, the soul of an antiquary, the impulse that urges him on to years of tedious labour, and the refreshment that keeps him alive in a desert of dust and tombs. 'Methinks,' says Aubrey, 'I am carried on by a kind of Oestrus, for nobody else hereabout hardly cares for it, but rather makes a scorn of it. But methinks it shews a kind of gratitude and good nature, to revive the memories and memorials of the pious and charitable Benefactors long since dead and gone.' But if gratitude is the prevailing motive, it is by a wide faculty of imagination that the antiquary comes to understand that there is but one human society on earth, and that, for good or for evil, the living are the least part of it. Where other men see only a wave of green rising ground, he calls up in his thought a bygone civilisation, he

sees the Roman soldiers relieving guard and exchanging gossip on the ramparts of a world-empire, he witnesses excursions and alarms, and hears the strange jargon of the long-haired prisoners brought captive into camp. Where others see only a torn bit of yellow parchment inscribed with faded characters he reconstructs in thought the mediaeval church and the despotism that it wielded in all the dearest relations of life. He knows that a great institution never perished without leaving a legacy to those that come after it, and that the present is inextricably entangled with the past. He builds up a vanished society from tiles and buttons, black-jacks, horn books, and battered pewter vessels. Whatever humanity has touched has a story for him. It is not an accident that the greatest novelist of Scotland was first an antiquary. And, to return to my tale, it was only by accident that John Aubrey, with his interest in witchcraft and mechanical science, in astrology and education, in Stonehenge and the Oxford Colleges, did not leave some more considerable monument of his powers than the voluminous scattered papers that were published for the most part long after his death.

What antiquaries suffer from the neglect of the public is a small thing compared to what they suffer at the hands of one another. Aubrey's biographical materials were compounded, with worse than no acknowledgment, by Anthony à Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses, an Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the University of Oxford* (1691-2). This great work, as splendid a benefaction as has ever been conferred by a single donor on any University, was conceived and executed by its author out of love for the place where he was born and had his education. Like a disdainful beauty, the University of Oxford has always been careless of those who love and serve her best. Her native fascination keeps her truest lovers her slaves, and she reserves her kindness for those who will not swell her following till they are assured of her favour. Anthony à Wood did not grudge a lifetime spent in the service of Oxford, but that he felt her indifference is evident from his preface, *To the Reader*:

'The Reader is desired to know that this Herculean labour had been more proper for a head or fellow of a college, or for a public professor or officer of the most noble university of Oxford to have undertaken and consummated, than the author, who never enjoyed any place or office therein, or can justly say that he hath eaten the bread of any founder. Also, that it had been a great deal more fit for one who pretends to be a *virtuoso*, and to know all men, and all things that are transacted; Or for one who frequents much society in common-

rooms, at public fires, in coffee-houses, assignations, clubbs, etc., where the characters of men and their works are frequently discussed; but the author, alas, is so far from frequenting such company and topicks, that he is as 'twere dead to the world, and utterly unknown in person to the generality of Scholars in Oxon.'

One reason why the company of Anthony was not agreeable to the fellows even of his own College is not unconnected with his professional excellence. 'I am told,' says Hearne, 'by one of the fellows of Merton College that Mr. Ant. à Wood formerly used to frequent their common-room; but that a quarrel arising one night between some of the fellows, one of them, who thought himself very much abused, put some of the rest of them into the court; but when the day for deciding the matter came, there wanted sufficient evidence. At last Mr. Wood, having been in company all the time the quarrel lasted, and put down the whole in writing, gave a full relation, which appeared so clear for the plaintiff, that immediate satisfaction was commanded to be given. This was so much resented, that Mr. Wood was afterwards expelled the common-room, and his company avoided, as an observing person, and not fit to be present where matters of moment were discussed.' In his autobiography Wood himself relates how it was said that 'the society of Merton would not let me live in the college for fear I should pluck it down to search after antiquities.'

But no one can read the *Athenae Oxoniensis* without recognising that the author was also a man of a naturally satirical wit, with a great talent for sketching the characters of men or books in a scornful phrase, or a few incisive epithets. His depreciation is the more effective in that it falls at random, with none of the air of a studied invective. He knows that the indifference of contempt, which is professed a hundred times in human society for once that it is really felt, may be better and more bitingly conveyed in a subordinate clause than in the main sentence. So in speaking of the music of his time, he says, 'Mr. Davis Mell was accounted hitherto the best for the violin in England, as I have before told you; but after Baltzar came into England, and showed his most wonderful parts on that instrument, Mell was not so admired; yet he played sweeter, was a well-bred gentleman, and not given to excessive drinking as Baltzar was.' So Mell loses his musical pre-eminence, and Baltzar his reputation for courtesy and sobriety.

If we consider, therefore, the enormous learning of Anthony à



ANTHONY à WOOD, AETAT. 45

From a drawing in the Bodleian

Wood, in a kind for which the Oxford of his day had little sympathy, his love of a solitary and retired life, his liberty of speech, his quickness of observation, even when 'he seemed to take notice of nothing and to know nothing,' his independent pride and sarcastic severity of judgment, we shall find no reason to wonder that the fellows of Merton, solicitous chiefly, it may be, for the dignity and comfort of the high table, were not sorry to be rid of his company.

About the greatness of his achievement there can be no question. His account of the learned writers and poets who had their education at Oxford has been used by a hundred later compilers; it has been edited with additions, and may be so edited again and again; but it can never be wholly superseded. The *Athenae* is a monument of literature; it records in its thousands of columns all that Oxford meant to the world, all of learning and beauty that she gave to the world, during centuries of her existence; and its author might justly boast, in the words of the poet-painter who drew the portrait of his mistress—

'Let all men note
That in all time (O Love, thy gift is this!)
He that would look on her must come to me.'

The subject is large, and a brief mention of some later compilations must suffice. Aubrey and Wood had appealed chiefly to an audience of professed students and lovers of antiquity. But at the beginning of the Eighteenth Century, the public, having enjoyed such an education as is obtainable in the noisy school of political and religious controversy, upreared its giant form and swore that it would read. This was the genesis of the publisher. Before this date the author said what he had to say, and the bookseller introduced it to such readers as were likely to appreciate it. Then, as now, an author often failed to find a bookseller or printer who would be at the risk of printing his work. But while the bookseller reigned, the chain of causation often began with the author, who was a man writing, and writing, it might even be, because he thought or knew. When the publisher succeeded to power, the order was reversed. The main fact to be recognised by him was that here was a public which had already taken to reading, as a man may take to drink. The public must be supplied with something that it could consume in large quantities without loss of appetite. Hence the novel, the review, the periodical essay, the collection of private letters, and

though last, not least, the intimate lives of notable men. Tonson, the first great publisher, deserves to be named with Copernicus, Harvey, Kepler, James Watt, and other famous discoverers. To him there occurred the new and fruitful notion that the Garden of Literature was a kind of Zoological Gardens, and that liveried attendants might profitably be employed to feed the beasts. But it was reserved for Edmund Curll, Pope's victim and accomplice, to carry the discovery a step further, and so to play Newton to Tonson's Kepler. Whether by happy chance or by laborious induction we cannot tell; but Curll hit on one of those epoch-making ideas which are so simple when once they are explained, so difficult, save for the loftiest genius, in their first conception. It occurred to him that, in a world governed by the law of mortality, the beasts might be handsomely and cheaply fed on one another's remains. He lost no time in putting his theory into action. During the years of his activity he published some forty or fifty separate *Lives*, intimate, anecdotal, scurrilous sometimes, of famous or notorious persons who had the ill fortune to die during his life-time. He had learned the wisdom of the grave-digger in *Hamlet*, and knew that there are many rotten corpses nowadays, that will scarce hold the laying in. So he seized on them before they were cold, and commemorated them in batches. One of his titles runs: *The Lives of the most Eminent Persons who died in the Years 1711, 12, 13, 14, 15, in 4 Vols.* 8°. His books commanded a large sale, and modern biography was established.

The new taste reacted on the older poets, whose works were steadily finding a larger and larger audience. In 1723 one Giles Jacob, who was the son of a maltster in Hampshire, and had been bred to the law, edited, for Curll, a collection in two volumes called *The Poetical Register, or the Lives and Characters of all the English Poets, with an account of their Writings*. His work, which is founded on Langbaine for the dramatic part, is meanly written, and, like many other meanly written works, is profusely illustrated. 'I have been very sparing,' says the editor, 'in my Reflections on the Merits of Writers, which is indeed nothing but anticipating the judgment of the Reader, and who after all will judge for himself.' Pope, perhaps after reading this sentence, called Jacob 'the scourge of grammar.' He and Congreve and other living writers were treated by the servile Jacob with a vapid monotony of commendation. In short, the book, like so much of later reviewing, is not critical; it belongs

rather to the huge family of trade circulars and letters of introduction.

The effort to recover information concerning our older English poets was continued in the Eighteenth Century by the successors of Aubrey and Wood, chief among whom must be mentioned Thomas Coxeter and William Oldys. Coxeter, who was of Aubrey's College in Oxford, devoted the whole of his busy life (1689-1747) to collecting the works of forgotten poets and amassing historical material. His books were dispersed at his death, but his material fell into the hands of Griffiths, Goldsmith's employer, and became the basis for the last biographical collection that I shall discuss,—*The Lives of the Poets of Great Britain and Ireland to the Time of Dean Swift*. By Mr. Cibber (1753). 5 vols. This important compilation, which probably suggested Johnson's great work, has had very little justice done to it in literary history. It is seldom mentioned save in connection with the dispute about its authorship. There is no reason to distrust the categorical statements of Johnson, who must have been well informed. 'It was not written,' says Johnson, 'nor, I believe, ever seen, by either of the Cibbers; but was the work of Robert Shiels, a native of Scotland, a man of very acute understanding, though with little scholastic education, who, not long after the publication of his book, died in London of a consumption. His life was virtuous, and his end was pious. Theophilus Cibber, then a prisoner for debt, imparted, as I was told, his name for ten guineas. The manuscript of Shiels,' he adds, 'is now in my possession.'

In some of its details this account has been amended and corrected. Cibber, it appears, did actually supervise and edit the work, striking out the Jacobite and Tory sentiments which Shiels had plentifully interspersed in the Lives that he contributed. For this labour of revision Cibber received twenty guineas. Shiels, on the other hand, wrote the chief part of the book, and received almost seventy pounds. Cibber and Shiels, as might be expected, quarrelled, and Shiels, who was for a time one of Johnson's dictionary amanuenses, doubtless communicated to Johnson his version of the affair.

That Shiels is entitled to the chief credit of the work cannot be doubted. Internal evidence, as it is called, would alone be sufficient to establish his claim. Here, for instance, is a description of Edinburgh society, extracted from the Life of Mr. Samuel Boyse, who came to that city from the lighter air of

Dublin. The description seems to me to prove two things : that the author was a Scot ; and that, consciously or unconsciously, he had formed his literary style wholly on the Johnsonian model.

‘The personal obscurity of Mr. Boyse’ (during his residence in Edinburgh) ‘might perhaps not be altogether owing to his habits of gloominess and retirement. Nothing is more difficult in that city than to make acquaintances. There are no places where people meet and converse promiscuously. There is a reservedness and gravity in the manner of the inhabitants which makes a stranger averse to approach them. They naturally love solitude ; and are very slow in contracting friendships. They are generous ; but it is with a bad grace. They are strangers to affability, and they maintain a haughtiness, and an apparent indifference, which deters a man from courting them. They may be said to be hospitable, but not complaisant, to strangers. Insincerity and cruelty have no existence amongst them ; but if they ought not to be hated they can never be much loved, for they are incapable of insinuation, and their ignorance of the world makes them unfit for entertaining sensible strangers. They are public-spirited, but torn to pieces by factions. A gloominess in religion renders one part of them very barbarous, and an enthusiasm in politics so transports the genteeler part, that they sacrifice to party almost every consideration of tenderness. Among such a people a man may long live, little known, and less instructed ; for their reservedness renders them uncommunicative, and their excessive haughtiness prevents them from being solicitous of knowledge.

‘The Scots are far from being a dull nation ; they are lovers of pomp and show, but then there is an eternal stiffness, a kind of affected dignity, which spoils their pleasures. Hence we have the less reason to wonder that Boyse lived obscurely at Edinburgh.’

‘Quintilian,’ Ben Jonson said to Drummond, ‘will tell you your faults, as if he had lived with you.’ Does not the foregoing description embody the experience of many a young Scot, who knows and admires the virtues of his people, and has suffered from them, and dislikes them sometimes even in himself.

The *Life of Samuel Boyse*, from which I have quoted, gives, like Johnson’s *Life of Richard Savage*, a vivid picture of the straits to which professional authors were reduced under the rule of Walpole. It is narrated how, about the year 1740, Boyse was brought to the extremity of distress. Having pawned all his clothes he was confined to bed with no other covering but a blanket. ‘He sat up in bed with the blanket wrapt about him, through which he had cut a hole large enough to admit his arm, and placing the paper upon his knee, scribbled in the best manner he could the verses he was obliged to make. Whatever he got by those, or any of his begging letters, was but just sufficient for the preservation of life.’

‘Whenever his distresses so pressed as to induce him to dispose of his shirt, he fell upon an artificial method of supplying



J'aime mon Honneur que ma vie.
 1. Aubrey. 2. Danvers.
 3. Lyte. 4. as the first.

AUBREY'S BOOK-PLATE

From MS. Aubrey 6. fol. II^v in the Bodleian

The Lives of Authors

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one. He cut some white paper in strips, which he tied round his wrists, and in the same manner supplied his neck. In this plight he frequently appeared abroad, with the additional inconvenience of want of breeches.'

'He fell upon some strange schemes of raising trifling sums. He sometimes ordered his wife to inform people that he was just expiring, and by this artifice work on their compassion. . . . At other times he would propose subscriptions for poems of which only the beginning and the conclusion were written ; and by this expedient would relieve some present necessity.'

'He had so strong a propension to groveling that his acquaintance were generally of such a cast, as could be of no service to him.'

'The manner of his becoming intoxicated was very particular. As he had no spirit to keep good company, so he retired to some obscure ale-house, and regaled himself with hot twopenny, which though he drank in very great quantities, yet he had never more than a pennyworth at a time.'

'It was an affectation in Mr. Boyse to appear very fond of a little lap-dog which he always carried about with him in his arms, imagining it gave him the air of a man of taste.' When his wife died, 'Boyse, whose circumstances were then too mean to put himself in mourning, was yet resolved that some part of his family should. He step'd into a little shop, purchased half a yard of black ribbon, which he fixed round his dog's neck by way of mourning for the loss of its mistress.'

In 1749, the unhappy poet, whose works had been praised by Johnson and Fielding, died in obscure lodgings near Shoe Lane. 'The remains of this son of the Muses,' says his biographer, 'were with very little ceremony hurried away by the parish officers, and thrown amongst common beggars.'

Perhaps the chief value of Cibber's *Lives* is to be found in these obscurer memoirs, which give information concerning poets who would otherwise be forgotten. For the rest, the scheme of the work is more generous than that of Johnson's *Lives*. The lives of British poets are recorded, and their works enumerated, from Chaucer to Mrs. Mary Chandler. The private virtues of this lady are so copiously attested, that it is late in her biography before we make acquaintance with her claims to distinction in literature. She was the author, it seems, of a poem on the Bath, which had the full approbation of the public, and when death overtook her, at the age of fifty-eight, she was meditating a

nobler flight, 'a large poem on the Being and Attributes of God, which was her favourite subject.' But this work, like the mammoth, was never seen by the eye of modern man save in impressive fragments.

Last of all comes Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* in 1781. The choice of names, whereby it appears that English poetry began with Abraham Cowley, was made not by Johnson, but by the booksellers of London who employed him. Johnson procured the insertion of the names of some few poets not originally included in the scheme. The *Lives*, except in some special cases, exhibit no laborious industry in the discovery of fact. They were written from a full mind, and with a flowing pen, at a time when Johnson's critical opinions had long been formed, and when he was quite indisposed to renew the detailed labours of the Dictionary. New information concerning the life of Pope was offered him, but he refused even to look at it; and he wrote his criticism on the dramas of Rowe without opening the book to refresh the memories of his reading of thirty years before. This indolence, which would be a sin in an archaeologist or an historian, is almost a virtue in Johnson. His *Lives* make a single great treatise, defining and illustrating the critical system which he had built up during long years of reading and writing. He writes at ease, in the plenitude of his power, and with a full consciousness of his acknowledged authority. His work closes an age; it is the Temple of Immortality of the great Augustans, and, when it was published, already Burns and Blake, Crabbe and Cowper, were beginning to write. With them came in new ideals, destined to affect both criticism and biography. So that the mention of Johnson's *Lives*, which would demand a separate essay for their proper appreciation, may fitly close this rambling catalogue of some early attempts to tell the story of the adventures of poets among their fellow-creatures.

WALTER RALEIGH.

Lislebourg and Petit Leith

IT is now generally well known that in the sixteenth century, or more precisely in the latter half of that century, Lislebourg was a French name for Edinburgh. The large extent, however, to which this name was prevalent is, perhaps, not so well known, while its origin and meaning remain a matter of conjecture. It is sometimes referred to as a fanciful term, or sobriquet, on a par with the native 'Auld Reekie,' or a term current only in certain narrow circles. But this is by no means the case. It was the one term almost exclusively employed at the French court, by French ambassadors and commanders, in public treaties of peace and in official documents as well as in private correspondence. A glance through the pages of Teulet's *Correspondence Diplomatique* will be enough to show this. In the *Articles accordées avecque les Protestants d'Ecosse* (25th July, 1559), Lislebourg there stands for the Scottish capital. Mary of Lorraine and her daughter the Queen of Scots, the well-known ministers, officers, and ambassadors at their court, La Chapelle, De Rubbay, D'Oysel, D'Essé, Paul de Foix, Du Croc, all more naturally speak of Lislebourg than Edinburgh, or 'Edimbourg.' The same is to be said of the French ambassadors resident in London at the period—Marillac, Odet de Selve, Noailles, Fénélon. Queen Mary's usage is interesting. As a rule she employs Lislebourg when writing in French and to her French friends. Her letters to Queen Elizabeth are mostly dated from Edinburgh or Holyrood, but sometimes, writing in her own hand to the English Queen, she dates her letters 'à Lislebourg,' as she does continually in her correspondence with Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, her ambassador in Paris. Her spelling is not constant. We have Lilebourg, Lylebourg, Lyslebourg, Lislebourc; but the variations have no significance. Lislebourg too was in familiar use among persons in a more humble position of life. The famous Esther L'Anglois or Inglis,

specimens of whose wonderful calligraphy are to be found in some of our public libraries, was proud to set down on the title-page of her transcripts, 'A Lislebourg.' A letter written by her to Queen Elizabeth is dated 'De Lislebourg en Ecosse, 27 Mar. 1599,' and a Book of Emblems from her pen, preserved in the British Museum, is similarly subscribed as late as 1624. Esther's father, Nicolas, who taught French in Edinburgh, died in 1611, and in his testament he styles himself, 'Nic Langlois maistre de lescole Francoise en cette ville de Lislebourg.' (*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. vi. p. 284.)

But the name was not confined to the French or to French correspondence. It was soon appropriated by Spain, and it became, in diplomatic circles at least, almost as much Spanish as French. Bishop De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador in London, in the early days of Queen Elizabeth, speaks of Lislebourg in writing to the Duchess of Parma. His successors, Silva, Guerau de Spes and Mendoza, do the same in their letters to King Philip. De Tassis and Juan de Vargas, who had no particular connection with England or Scotland, use the same term in writing to the Spanish King from Paris.

It has been said that the word was never heard from purely Scottish lips. But this is not absolutely correct. It appears in one or more Acts of the Scottish Privy Council, concerned with or addressed to the French Court, notably in the Letter drawn up by Maitland of Lethington and signed by the members of Council (printed in Keith, Lawson's edition, vol. ii. p. 454), thus, in the subscription: 'From Lisleburgh this 8th of October, 1566,' and in the body of the Letter: 'About ten or twelve days ago the Queen at our request came to this town of Lisleburgh'; but this, no doubt, was a diplomatic accommodation on the part of the Secretary to French fashions of speech. Again, Robert Bruce, the agent of the Catholic earls, dates a letter from Lislebourg in November, 1587, and so does the Earl of Huntly writing to the Duke of Parma in the following year.

The name seems to have rapidly fallen out of use after the Union of the Scottish and English crowns, when French agents ceased to reside in Edinburgh, and the intercourse with France was interrupted. De Montreuil and the brothers De Bellièvre, who in the next generation came to the Scottish Capital as representatives of France, show no knowledge of 'Lislebourg.'

But the strange thing is that it not only passed out of use but out of memory, both in Scotland and France. The per-

plexities of some of our historians and critics on the point are amusing. It seems almost incredible that such a diligent searcher of historical archives as Bishop Keith should not have been familiar with the name from the first; yet this is the faltering way in which the bishop refers to it in a footnote (1734) when he meets it (in a Procuratory from the Queen Regent to the Dowager Duchess of Guise) under the disguise of an erroneous reading, 'Rislebourg': 'Or Lisleburgh' (explains Keith) 'as I also see it written, *but what place it is I know not.*' Is this not a striking example of how insular was the historical outlook of Scottish historians of that time, and of what strides have been taken within the last century in the study of the international relations of the country? Keith had to advance in his history to the year 1566 before the identification of Lislebourg dawned upon him. Quoting Lethington's letter referred to, he naively remarks, 'By many and incontestable evidences I now see that Lisleburgh was the French appellation for Edinburgh, but why they so came to call it I know not.' We next turn to Jamieson (1808) who, curiously enough, enters the word in his *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*, though the one thing certain about the word is that it is not Scottish. Referring to the above-quoted passage from Keith as his authority, the lexicographer only ventures to say 'Lislebourg. A name said to have been given to the City of Edinburgh.'

But still more surprising than this uncertainty on the part of Scottish scholars is the fact that the name and its identification should have become almost lost in the land of its birth. Some recent French historians, evidently in want of exact information, speak with curious hesitation. Thus in the *Correspondence Politique de MM. Castillon et de Marillac, ambassadeurs de France en Angleterre, 1537-1542, publiée sous les auspices de la Commission des Archives Diplomatiques, par M. Jean Kaulek* (Paris, 1885), we find Marillac writing from London to the King of France, 1 June, 1540, that he had news from Scotland that a dozen ships of war were in readiness to sail from 'ung port prochaine de Lislebourg.' The editor is apparently puzzled with the name, and registers it in his index with a query—thus, 'Lislebourg (?)—Armements de Jacques V.' So M. Louis Paris editing *Négociations, Lettres et Relations au règne de Francois II.* for the series of *Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France* (1841) indexes 'Lislsburg [a misprint for Lislebourg], ville d'Écosse, p. 16, 324, 405—Lettre datée de cette ville,

p. 424, 264, 472, 475, 757.' Again M. Cheruel in his *Marie Stuart et Catherine de Medicis* prints a letter of Michel de Castelnau to Henri III. (11 May, 1584) in which occurs the word 'Lislebon.' M. Cheruel corrects the clerical error of the original, and explains editorially in brackets '(Lislebourg, maintenant partie d'Edimbourg).' The suggestion that it is now *part* of Edinburgh is somewhat obscure.

But what of the origin and meaning of the name? Who first gave it currency, and with what view? Duplicate names of towns are not uncommon. We have a familiar example in our own country of Perth and St. John's Toun, or simply St. John, being current at the same time. The French, by the way, continually wrote it as St. Jehan Stone. In the time of Queen Elizabeth the French seaport Havre or Havre-de-Grace was known to Englishmen as 'Newhaven.' French soldiers were fond of rechristening Scottish places with names of their own. Odet de Selve, writing from London to the Constable of France (20th Oct., 1547), says: 'Après à l'entrée de la riyvère du Petit Leich ont prises ugne isle qu'est appelée l'isle Sainte Cosme, et par les mariniers francoys communément l'Islet' (ed. Lefèvre-Portalès, Paris, 1888, p. 225). The name l'Islet soon gave way to Isle des Vaches, or Cow island, so named, it is said, because it afforded pasturage to the cattle of the French troops. Similarly Inchkeith, a particularly hard morsel for the Frenchman's tongue and a burden to his memory, became replaced by Isle aux Chevaux, Island of Horses.

Now the generally accepted explanation of 'Lislebourg' is that suggested by Jamieson, and adopted by Prof. Hume Brown, viz., that the French imagination struck by the fact that the city was bounded on the north by the Nor Loch, and on the south by a sheet of water, which stood in the place of our present Meadows, not to mention other pools or marshes in the neighbourhood, named it L'Islebourg, or 'The Island City.' It is impossible to deny probability to this guess, but it is no more than a guess. There is not sufficient evidence that the French took the initial L to be the article. In any case the interpretation seemed to me somewhat unnatural, or at least open to question. Far more likely that a name whose original form and significance had in course of time been obscured should come eventually to be so spelled and sounded as to give it an appropriate and intelligible meaning. On my expressing some such doubts on one occasion to Dr. David

Patrick, he remarked that similar doubts had occurred to his own mind, and he threw out the suggestion that the first syllable of Lislebourg was originally Lisse, or Litz, a lisping attempt of a Frenchman to pronounce the difficult Leith.¹ French soldiers approaching Scotland on the East, with Edinburgh as their objective, would hear of Leith as the place of their destination. On the lips of the weary and seasick voyager the continued enquiry would be, 'When do we arrive at Leith,' Leith being in his mind the gate of the capital. Leith and Edinburgh would become identified, the capital being the castle or burgh presiding over the important harbour of Leith.² We should thus expect to find the etymological succession of forms Leithbourg, Lissebourg, or perhaps Leith-le-bourg, Lisse-le-bourg, Lislebourg. Now this suggestion may at first sight seem more unwarrantable and far fetched, as it is certainly less romantic and less flattering than the interpretation 'Island City.' It has nothing in its favour that can be strictly called historic evidence, and the intermediate forms in request have not yet been discovered. It is offered merely as a possible clue which deserves consideration, and which should stimulate enquiry. For, if it lacks positive proof, there are certain interesting facts in the history of the name which at least point very suggestively in the direction indicated and deserve attention.

Thus, in his *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Ecosse*, published by Estienne Perlin at Paris in 1558, he writes of Scotland: 'Their capital is called in Scots Ennebroc, in French Lislebourg,' and he continues, 'there are *other* seaports as Dunbar, Dumbarton,' etc., as if he had already named the principal seaport in naming Lislebourg, or as if it were understood that Leith was included in Lislebourg.³

¹ For example the various French spellings of another Leith (Ibn Leith, founder of a Persian dynasty) are thus given in Larousse: 'Leith or Leitz or Leitzs or Leitz.'

² Or, indeed, it may be supposed that the walled city by itself was thought of and named Leith-le-Bourg, and the seaport by distinction Leith-le-Port, afterwards Petit Leith. This idea of city and port as one, with the prominence given to Leith, is rather suggested by the plan of Edinburgh, out of all proportion as it is, here reproduced from that published by Munster in his *Cosmography* (1550) from the description supplied by Alexander Ales. (See page 25.)

³ 'Leurs capitale ville est appellee en Escossois *Ennebroc*, en Francoys Lislebourg, la quelle est grande comme Pontoyse, et non point d'avantage, a raison aussi que autrefois a été bruslé des Anglois. Il y a quelques autres portz de mer, côme Dumbars, Dumberterand, et autres plusieurs petites villes et bourgades.'

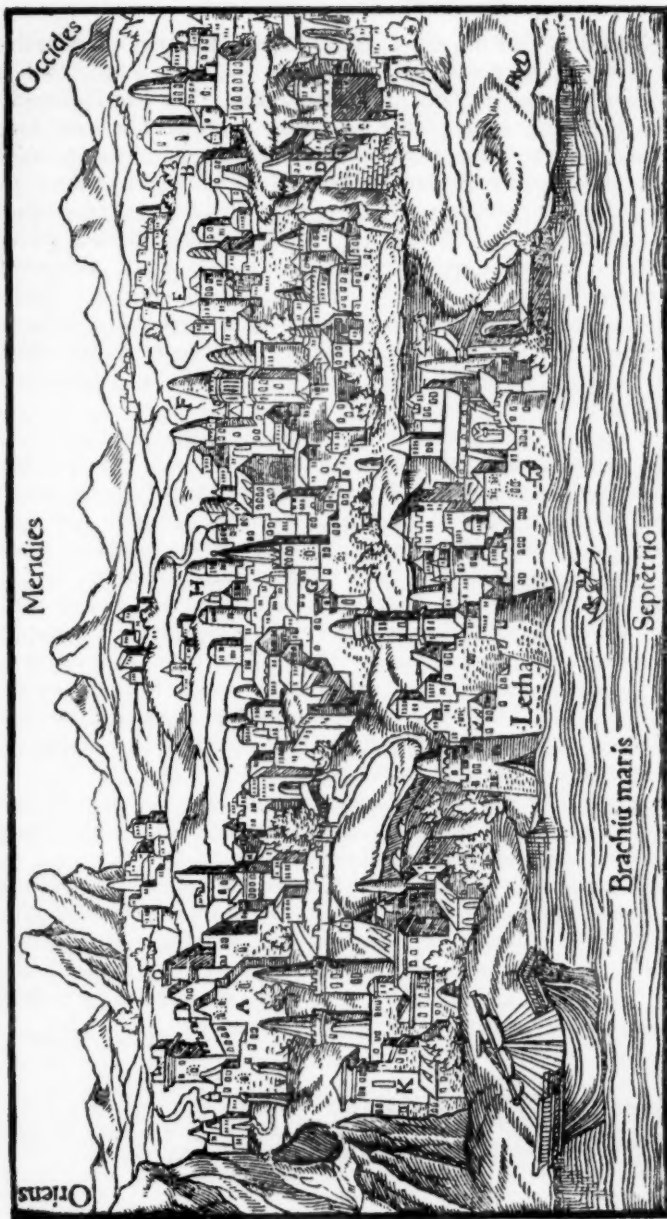
Again, it is instructive to observe that when French writers wish to specify the harbour as apart from the city they invariably use the term *Petit Leith*, a term never used by Scotsmen. Why *Little Leith*, and where was the *Greater Leith*, unless it be *Lislebourg* itself? On any other theory the origin of this *Petit* calls for explanation. The rule holds good, I believe without exception, that whenever a Frenchman uses the term *Lislebourg* instead of 'Edimbourg,' he will employ the term *Petit Leith* or its equivalents *Petit Lit*, *Petit Liet*, *Petit Leich*, etc., for the seaport; and *vice versa* should he prefer the Scottish form for the capital he would write *Leith*, *Litz*, etc., *simpliciter*, without the *Petit*, for the harbour. M. Odet de Selve, for example (1546-49), constantly writes *Lislebourg* and *Petit Leich*, employing the former term in his letters from London 28 times, and the latter 12 times, but he does not once write 'Edimburg' or *Leith*. On the other hand, in the *Esneval Papers*, edited by M. Cheruel, we have (*Marie Stuart*, p. 269) 'le traicté d'Edenbourg faict apres le siege de Litz,' as if with the writer 'Edenbourg' naturally carries with it *Litz* without qualification. Note here, too, the sibilant *Litz*.

What has been said with regard to the Spanish adoption of 'Lislebourg' applies equally to 'Petit Leith' with its variations of spelling. It is so used, for example, by De Quadra and Mendoza in their correspondence with King Philip, and by the Prince of Parma. It may be noted, too, that Cardinal Trivulzio, writing in Italian from Paris to Carafa in 1560, speaks of 'Petit-liet' (*Pollen's Papal Negotiations*, p. 25).

But the difficulty of tracing either name to its source remains. Can it be that the birthplace of *Lislebourg* was in the House of Lorraine? Did Mary of Guise, on her coming to Scotland in 1538 to marry James V., bring with her the fashion, which was to become current among the French courtiers and soldiers who followed in her train, and to flourish in Scotland and on the continent as long as the Guise influence was paramount? The earliest instance of the occurrence of *Lislebourg* that I have been

(p. 33, 34 of edition reprinted in 4to by Bowyer & Nichols, London, 1775). The anonymous editor, Richard Gough, the antiquary, remarks in a note to *Ennebroc*, 'I never heard of its French name before.' Perlin again names 'Lislebourg, otherwise called Ennebroc' in a list of Scottish towns at p. 40, but here also he makes no mention of *Leith*: 'en cestuy Royaulme d'Ecosse, il y a plusieurs villes comme Dombarras, Dombertrant, Thinton [Tantallon], Quincornes [Kinghorn], Lisle aux chevaux, Lislebourg autrement appellees Ennebroc, Sainct André de autres plusieurs petites villes etc chasteaux.'

ALEXANDER ALESIUS SCOTUS DE EDINBURGO



- | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A Palatium Regis | C Ecclesia S. Cutberti |
| D Ecclesia S. Egidii | F Ecclesia beatae Mariae in campo |
| G Collegium reginae | K Monasterium S. Crucis |
| B Arx puellarum | |
| E Minoritae | |
| H Predicatore | |

able to find is that in the already quoted despatch of Marillac from London to the Court of France in June, 1540, that is two years before the birth of Mary Stuart. Yet Marillac seems to use the term as a matter of course, and as if it were long established as the correct and official designation of the Scottish capital. One hundred years earlier the name was unknown to, or unnoticed by, Froissart (died 1410). Monstrelet (flourished 1400-1422) speaks of 'Edelbourg,' while Regnault Gerard, giving an account of his embassy to Scotland in 1434-5, shows no knowledge of any name for the place but 'Edempburgh.' Lislebourg appears on no old map that I have seen. No original documents, as has been said, betray any such intermediary forms as Leithbourg or Lissebourg. Marillac in 1540 spells 'Lislebourg' just as Esther Inglis did in 1624.

In a case of this sort the word-hunter must be continually on his guard against the arbitrariness of editors. Thus, Mr. Lawson, the editor of the 8vo edition of Keith (1844), asserts without warrant that 'L'Isleburg' is the correct reading; whereas, to the best of my belief, 'L'Isleburg,' a spelling which begs the whole question, is a form found nowhere but in Brantôme;¹ and, if indeed Brantôme's editors are to be trusted, it may be that this imaginative writer was the first to suggest by this reading the interpretation 'The Island City.' Recently a more tantalizing red herring has been thrown in the path of the enquirer by M. Forestié in his biography of Captain Sarlabous, at one time Governor of Dunbar. In this interesting memoir,² based on original documents, the author three times (pp. 54, 56, 57) prints 'Lithlebourg,' the very form we are in search of, but in each case, on reference to the authority cited, Lithlebourg vanishes into the familiar Lislebourg.

Some apology is needed for the crude and incomplete form of these notes, but they may serve at least to ventilate the question and to tempt others with more available sources to deal with it exhaustively. In the meanwhile, any examples of either Lislebourg or Petit Leith before June, 1540, will be gratefully received by the writer.

T. G. LAW.

¹ Ed. 1787, vol. ii. p. 327; and ed. 1873 (*Soc. de l'Histoire*), vol. vii. p. 419.

² *Un capitain Gascon au XVI^e siècle, Corbeyran de Cardaillac-Sarlabous, Gouverneur de Dunbar (Ecosse), etc., par Edouard Forestié.* Paris, 1897.

Scotland described for Queen Magdalene :

A Curious Volume

MAGDALENE DE VALOIS, daughter of Francis I., and Queen of Scotland for a brief period, has received scant justice at the hands of Scottish historians. The melancholy fate of the Princess who bore the title of Queen of Scotland for only 180 days, and who spent but 49 of these in the land of her adoption, seems to have obscured the critical faculties of her historians, and to have led them to invent romantic episodes in her short life which are not more remarkable than the veritable facts of her career. Even ordinary precautions to obtain historical accuracy with reference to Queen Magdalene have been neglected. It would not have been difficult to obtain accurate information, for instance, regarding her place in the family of Francis I.; yet even here the earlier and later historians are at variance. Tytler describes her as 'the only daughter of Francis.' Hill Burton more carefully refers to Magdalene as '*the* daughter,' leaving the reader to form his own conclusions. Lindsay of Pitscottie, without any hesitancy, calls her 'the eldest douchter.' In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* she is distinctly referred to as 'the eldest dochter of the King of France, callit Magdalene.' John Penman, the spy who corresponded with Sir George Douglas, writing from Paris on 29th October, 1536—two months before the marriage of James V.—says: 'Of a certayntye the King of Scotts shall marye Madame Magdalen the Fraunce Kyngs eldest Doughter'; but the cautious Pinkerton, who quotes this letter in an Appendix, is careful in his text to give her the correct designation of 'the eldest surviving daughter.' Sir Archibald Dunbar in his *Scottish Kings*, published in 1899, quoting apparently from the Comte de Mas Latrie's *Trésor de Chronologie* (1889), repeats the ancient blunder by describing Magdalene as 'eldest daughter of François I. by his first wife, Claude, daughter of Louis XII.' The first English writer

to correct this persistent error was Agnes Strickland. In her account of Magdalene, given in *The Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, she sets down exactly the genealogical position of the Princess. Francis I. and Claude had three sons and four daughters; and Magdalene was the fifth child and third daughter. The sons were Francis, the Dauphin, who died in his father's lifetime; Henri, Duke of Orleans, afterwards Henri II.; and Charles, Duke of Orleans. The eldest daughter was Louise, and the second Charlotte, both of whom died in maidenhood, victims of the pulmonary disease which terminated the life of Magdalene. To them their contemporary Brantôme thus refers: 'Death came too soon to allow the fair fruit of which the hopeful blossoms of their tender childhood had given such beauteous promise, to arrive at their full perfection; but, if those Princesses had been spared to reach maturity, they would have been no whit inferior to their sisters, either in intellect or goodness, for their promise was very great.' At the time of the marriage of Magdalene her proper designation was 'eldest surviving daughter of Francis I.'

Another curious discrepancy is in historical accounts of the marriage. In the *Diurnal of Occurrents* it is stated that the marriage of James V. and Magdalene took place 'at Pareis, in the Kirk of Sanct genuefa' [St. Genevieve]. Pitscottie writes: 'The marriage was solemnised in the cite of Pareis, in Notorodamus Kirk, about the tent hour of the day.' Hume Brown, Tytler, Strickland, Pinkerton, Buchanan, and Lesley all give the Church of Notre Dame as the scene of the ceremony, and this is confirmed on the contemporary evidence of a description of the reception accorded to James V. on his entry to Paris on 31st December, 1536, when he was met by the Parlement, in robes of office, at 'St. Anthoine des Champs lès Paris,' where he lodged, and was conveyed in procession to the Church of Notre Dame, where he took up his residence in the episcopal palace:

'Le lendemain, premier jour de l'an, la solemnité des espousailles de luy et Madicte Dame Magdelaine de France, fille du Roy nostre souverain seigneur, feuste faicte en ladicte esglise Nostre Dame; et le soir, le festin en la grande salle du palais, ausquel ladicte cour fut conviée et assista en robbes rouges.'¹

Still another curious error may be pointed out, as showing how cautiously one must examine the evidence of early writers

¹ Teulet, I. p. 108.

Queen Magdalene

29

who are sometimes right and often wrong. Lindsay of Pit-scottie—or the anonymous author of the original *Cronickles of Scotland*—details with considerable amplitude the rejoicings in Scotland when James and his bride landed at Leith on 19th May, 1537, and proceeds thus:

‘But this grit triumph and great mirriness was soone turned to dollour and lamentation; for the quene deceast this same day that hir grace landit, quhilk maid ane dollorous lamentation that was made in burghes, for triumph and mirriness was all turned in deregies and soull massis quhilkis war verrie lamentable to behold.’¹

If there be any fact about Magdalene that is well ascertained, it is that her death took place on 7th July, 1537. That date is given by the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, by Buchanan, (who ought to know, as he wrote an elegy on the Queen), by the *Chronicle of Aberdeen*, by Pinkerton and later writers; and the date is confirmed by the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer. Lesley gives the date as 10th July, and Miss Strickland homologates the error. Calderwood, more cautiously, assigns the date to ‘the 7th or 10th of July,’ and Pitscottie, still further to perplex the reader, states that the Queen died forty days after the 28th of May, although he had alleged that her death took place on the day of her arrival in Scotland. These are a few of the troubles that afflict the earnest searcher after historic truth.

Despite several casual slips which a modern writer would not make with the materials now accessible, Miss Strickland’s story of Queen Magdalene is the best that has appeared. Her book, *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, was published by Messrs. Blackwood & Sons in 1850, twelve years before M. Teulet’s valuable *Relations Politiques de la France et de l’Espagne avec l’Ecosse* had been issued in a more extended form than his Bannatyne Club volume. She had obtained copies of some of the documents relating to Queen Magdalene preserved in the national archives at Paris, though she did not always make intelligent use of them. Nevertheless, her account of the Queen is sufficiently full and exact to make it unnecessary to relate the story again. It is only intended now to bring before the reader a curious piece of contemporary evidence as to the marriage of King James and the French Princess, which is so extremely rare that it has hitherto escaped the notice of all the historians of Scotland.

¹ Pitscottie, I. p. 370, ed. 1814.

Nearly three years before her birth—if the Irishism may be pardoned—the Princess Magdalene had been betrothed to James V. By the famous Treaty of Rouen, made between Francis I., represented by Charles Duke of Alençon, and James V., whose emissary was John, Duke of Albany, and dated 26th August, 1517, it was provided that Francis should give to James as his wife his 'filie puisnée,' the Princess Charlotte, when she should reach the age at which she might enter into a marriage contract. It was further provided that should this marriage not take place for any reason, and should it please God to give Francis another daughter, that she should take the place of her sister, and wed the King of Scots. This Treaty was first printed by M. Teulet, and has either been neglected or misread by all the historians save Miss Strickland, who has quoted from an imperfect copy. Magdalene was born on 10th August, 1520, and in the autumn of that year the Regent Albany proposed that she should be substituted for the Princess Charlotte who had died prematurely. Meanwhile Henry VIII. had offered his only daughter, Mary, as the bride of the Scottish king; but the people of Scotland were more favourable towards the marriage with the French Princess. The Battle of Pavia, where Francis was taken prisoner, had left the Regency in the hands of his mother, Louise of Savoy, and Henry VIII. took advantage of the weakness of France to insist that the marriage with Magdalene should be abandoned or he would withhold his promised aid in liberating Francis. Louise wrote to Margaret Tudor, mother of James V., resigning all claim upon the King's hand. But King Henry's proposal was unpalatable to both the Scottish King and his people, and the Princess Mary of England was not accepted. In the spring of 1531 an embassy was sent by James V. to France for the purpose of renewing the contract of marriage with Magdalene, but these efforts were only partially successful. At length in 1533 James made another application for the hand of Magdalene, and the reply of Francis, dated 23rd June, 1533, was favourable. The letter sent by Francis is printed by Teulet (I. p. 77). Fate was still to be unpropitious, however, for on 29th March, 1535-36, a contract was entered into between Francis and James, whereby it was proposed that Marie de Bourbon, eldest daughter of Charles, Duke of Vendôme, should be the consort of the Scottish King. In his procuratory appended to this document, James introduces the name of

the Princess who had been his affianced from the cradle, with rather a melancholy expression, referring to her as 'illustrissima domina domina Magdalena, ipsius Christianissimi regis filia, consors nobis ante alias petenda foret, verum quia certo informamur ejus vallitudinem—quod dollenter ferimus—impedimento esse quominus matrimonium inter nos consumari possit.' Evidently the King had still a lingering regard for the *fiancée* whom he had never seen, though it was expressed in non-classical Latin.

The new bride proposed to James was twenty-one years of age, and her father was the nearest in blood to the reigning family; indeed, her brother, Antoine de Bourbon, by his marriage with Jeanne d'Albret, became titular King of Navarre, and father of Henri IV. The romantic story of the rupture of the contemplated marriage has been often told. James, it is said, went in disguise to St. Quentin¹ in Picardy, but was not satisfied with the Princess, and set off at once to ask the hand of Magdalene from Francis I. The required consent was speedily obtained, and the marriage, as already stated, took place on 1st January, 1536-7. The king had left Scotland in search of a wife on 1st September, 1536, and he did not return until he took back Queen Magdalene, arriving at Leith on 17th May, in the following year. It must have been about the middle of October that James visited Francis at Lyons and saw Magdalene for the first time; and it is consistently stated that the Princess fell in love with him at first sight, and, despite her father's remonstrances, she insisted upon the marriage. From her childhood the name of the King of Scots had been kept constantly before her, as that of her future consort; and the King from his boyhood had been accustomed to consider her as his destined bride. The constant interruptions to his suit had only confirmed him more decidedly to have no other as his wife save the lovely Princess of France. Their personal courtship lasted for two months and a half, and it is at this point that our new contemporary evidence comes into prominence.

At that period little was known in France regarding Scotland. That country was considered a wilderness inhabited by a savage race, so illiterate that Scottish men of genius had to leave their native shore, where they were unappreciated, and

¹All the chroniclers say that the meeting was at Vendôme; but Hume Brown, on the authority of Bapst's *Les Mariages de Jacques V.* (1889), places it at St. Quentin.

to find refuge and encouragement in France and Germany. The Duke of Albany, who was well known at the French Court, though he was heir-presumptive to the throne of Scotland and was Regent there, had thrice striven in vain to live in that country. His first visit lasted little over two years,—May, 1515, to June, 1517;—his second visit in 1521 only extended to eleven months and seven days; while his third visit—September, 1523, to May, 1524—had so disgusted him with Scotland that he forfeited his office of Regent rather than return to it. Naturally the Princess Magdalene would be anxious to know something about this strange land over which she was to rule. But how was this knowledge to be imparted? There is ample proof that her Royal lover could neither write nor speak French passably. Teulet printed the letter written by James's own hand in French to the Pope in 1535, and found it 'd'un français tellement obscur, et les phrases sont remplies de tournures ecossaises qui paraissent si bizarres' that he deemed it necessary to supply a French translation. Then the members of the Parlement who went to meet King James on the eve of his marriage found that they could not converse with him 'parcequ'il savoit peu du langage françois.' In this dilemma James had to find a substitute who could write an account of Scotland in the French language, which the Princess Magdalene could understand. That useful personage he discovered in Jehan Desmontiers, whose curious book about Scotland is now to be described for the first time.

The immortal Hector Boece, a native of Dundee, who studied at Paris, was Professor of Philosophy at Montacute and became first Principal of King's College, Aberdeen, in 1500, had written his *Scotorum Historie* in Latin and published it at Paris in 1527. James V. had been so pleased with this work that he repeatedly bestowed gifts and pensions upon the writer. Boece died about the time King James set out for France—he was certainly dead before 22nd November, 1536, when the King was in Paris—and he could render no assistance. But shortly before that time James had employed John Bellenden to translate Boece's book into the Scottish vernacular; and an entry in the Treasurer's Accounts proves that on 26th July, 1533, Bellenden received £12 'for ane new Cronikle gevin to the Kingis Grace.' It is probable that Bellenden's version was printed at Edinburgh in 1536, and it is very likely that the King took a copy of the book with him to France, if only to prove to the *literati*

there that Scotland was not wholly illiterate, as well as to show his own ancient lineage. The Latin and the Scottish languages were alike unknown to the Princess Magdalene, and it was necessary that the King should have the 'Cronikle' translated into the French of the period; or, at least, that he should have an abridged account of the history of Scotland and a description of the country, founded upon the works of Boece and Bellenden, which the Princess might read with ease and interest. For this purpose he employed Jehan Desmontiers, an 'escuyer' at the Court of Francis, a learned man who knew Greek and Latin, and who (as is suggested later in this article) had been in Scotland with John, Duke of Albany, and could thus supplement the information of Boece and Bellenden from his own experience. That book was written for the Princess, as appears from internal evidence, but it was not printed till after 4th March, 1537-8 (the date when a licence to print was given by the Parlement). The time when it was written is also shown from internal evidence. Reference is made in the middle of the book to 'the late Duke of Albany,' who died 2nd June, 1536, while the last sentence alludes to the marriage of the Princess and the King as imminent, so that it must have been completed before the end of December in that year.

Only one imperfect copy of this remarkable book is known to exist in this country. It is printed on vellum, and is in the British Museum among Mr. Grenville's books, and had at different times been in the possession of Richard Gough (1735-1809), the eminent antiquary, and of the Marquess of Blandford. Two or three copies are in Continental libraries. In 1863 the late Dr. David Laing deemed that the rarity of this book would justify him in having a facsimile reprint made; and with the aid of the late M. Francisque-Michel he had the work executed in Paris by M. Gounouilhou, limiting the reprint to 80 copies. Contrary to his custom, Dr. Laing had not studied the book with care, for in his brief preface he states that 'of the author, Jehan Desmontiers, whose name appears in the privilege for printing, no particulars, I believe, are known.' There are several references in Desmontiers' text which show that he was a person of importance at the Court, having access through his uncle, Monsieur Dallas, to the presence of Marguerite de Valois and Katharine de Medicis, the Dauphiness, to whom he was permitted to make presents of natural curiosities. His eulogy of the Duke of Albany makes

it probable that he had been in Albany's service; while the description that he gives of the Tweed at Berwick—which does not appear in Boece or Bellenden—shows that he had seen the river at the point of its junction with the sea. The rubric which he places beside his text proves that he was well acquainted with Greek and Latin authors, and was, perhaps, a little pedantic.

The modest little volume consists of 38 numbered folios, with three folios for index. The type-forme on each page measures four and a half inches by two and a half inches, with a rubric of half an inch, printed in smaller type than the text. The title-page bears the following inscription:—'Summaire de lo | rigne description & meruilles Descosse. | Auec vne petite cronique des roys du dict | pays iusques a ce temps. | A tresexcellente & tresillustre dame, | Ma dame la Dauphine. | On les vend au Palays es boutiques | de Iean Andre & Vincent Certenas. | 1538 | Auec priuilege.' That the book was completed before the marriage of the Princess Magdalene is proved by the last page of text, quoted below. The authority to print the work is dated 4th March, 1537-8, by which time Queen Magdalene was dead. A postscript is added narrating the marriage of the Princess, her journey to Scotland, and her death there, together with four Latin epitaphs upon her. The intention of the author had doubtless been to dedicate the book to Magdalene, but circumstances prevented the accomplishment of this purpose, and the dedication is addressed to Katharine de Medicis, wife of the Dauphin Henri (afterwards Henri II.). It is couched in the grandiloquent style of the period, with learned references to Pliny, Socrates, and the Academicians, and praises the study of nature and of mankind. As an example of the quaint French of the time, one passage may be quoted. The author complains of the difficulties that attend the writing of history, and thus proceeds:

'Parquoy ie feray comme ceaulx qui sont entrez es perilz dangereux des naufrages de la mer, sans aulcune bone esperance de se sauluer qui ont seulement recours au saint quilz pensent leur estre plus propice. Car voyant mon nauire mal frete & en mauuais equipage, & les vents dung coste & dautre sesmouuoir, ie nauray autre esperance de venir a bon port que par vostre benigne grace, Tresnoble & Tresuertueuse Princesse.'

[Therefore I do like those who are entered on the perils and dangers of shipwreck at sea, without any other good hope to save themselves, who have only recourse to the Saint whom they think most propitious to them. For, seeing my ship poorly freighted and in evil plight, and the winds driving it from one side to the other, I have no other hope to come to a safe harbour but by your benign favour, Most Noble and Most Virtuous Princess].

Taking Hector Boece as his model, the author begins with a description of the origin of Scotland, or Albion, repeating the stories about Gathelus who married Scots, daughter of Pharaoh, King of Egypt, exactly as these are given in the second chapter of Boece's *Cosmography*. Desmontiers gives marginal quotations from Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Herodianus, Josephus, Strabo, and other ancient writers, making not a little display of his learning. In his *Description du pays Descosse* the author simply abridges Boece's work, following exactly the course adopted by the Scottish writer. The Frenchman, however, is not a mere copyist, for occasionally he inserts remarks of his own, apt enough, but not taken from Boece. It is interesting to compare the separate versions of Boece's work as given in old French by Desmontiers, and in old Scots by Bellenden. The following passages show how far they diverge from each other, though Bellenden faithfully follows the original Latin by Boece:

Bellenden, '*Cosmographie*,' cap. 8.

'In Murray land is the Kirk of Pette, quhare the banis of Litill Johne remanis, in gret admiratioun of pepill. He hes been fourtene fut of hicht, with square membris effeiring thairto. Vi yeris afore the cuming of this werk to licht, we saw his hanche bane, als mekill as the hale bane of ane man; for we schot our arme in the mouth thairto; be quhilk apperis how strang and square pepill grew in our regioun, afore thay wer effeminat with lust and intemperance of mouth.'

Desmontiers, folio xiiij.

'Aussi lon voit audict pays de Moray, Les os dung geant quilz appellet par mocquerie Litiliohn, cest a dire petit Iean, lequel auoit comme lon dict quatorze piedz de long qui est vne chose merueilleuse si lon veult proportionner la grâdeur Dhercules, que conceut subtilement le Philosophe Pithagoras & de laquelle quasi tous les historiens ont escript a celle de ce Geant; duquel nul autheur Latin ny Grec que ie saiche ne faict aucune mention.'

There can be no reasonable doubt that when Desmontiers wrote the above paragraph he had Boece's book before him, though he adds several particulars from his own knowledge of literature. In the same way, when treating of the famous petrifying well at Slains, he makes remarks that are, in some degree, autobiographical. Bellenden translates the passage in Boece thus:

'In Buchquhane is the castell of Slains, the Constablis hous, of Scotland; beside quhilk is ane mervellus cove; for the watter that droppis in it, growis, within schort time, in maner of ane hard quhit stane; and, wer nocht the cove is oft temit, it wald be fillit sone with stanis.'

After relating this circumstance, Desmontiers divagates into a brief dissertation to show that petrification is not miraculous,

and quotes from Juvenal, Pliny, and Martianus in support of his contention. He then proceeds thus :

'De leau qui se tourne en pierre, il nest poict besoyn q par autres raisons il soit cõfirmé. Car au mois doctobre dernier ie veiz la fontain de Passy pres la ville de Sens de laquelle leau se tourne en pierre de forme estrange, comme plusieurs virét a Fontainebleau, en deux pierres que ie donnay a Monsieur Dallas mon oncle; pour estre presentees a Mes Dames, Madame Marguerite, & a vous mesmement Madame, a qui iay adresse desdie & voue ce petit sommaire, pour auoir occasion de parler des choses & personnes tresillustres & tres magnifiques.'

[As to the water which turns into stone, it is not difficult to confirm it by other reasons. For in the month of last October I visited the fountain of Passy near the town of Sens, where the water turns into stone in strange forms, in the same way as at Fontainebleau, two stones of which I gave to my uncle, M. Dallas, to be presented to Madame Marguerite (of Navarre), and to yourself, Madame, to whom I have addressed and devoted this little summary, to have occasion to speak of things and persons very illustrious and very magnificent.]

Having finished his condensed account of the cosmography of Scotland, the author gives his 'Cathalogue des Roys,' beginning with Fergus, and closely following Boece's list until he reaches 'James, now reigning, who espoused the noble Princess Magdalene of France, eldest daughter of the Most Christian King, to the great pleasure and consolation of his people, who thought themselves happy above all other nations so long as they might retain and preserve so great a blessing. The King, certainly, merited immortal praise when he crossed the sea to conquer Magdalene, not as Paris did for Helen, nor Jason for Medea, through the avarice of the Golden Fleece, but that he might win the Most Noble Princess, who for gentleness, grace, virtue, and nobility surpasses all the women in the world.' Here Desmontiers' book, written for the Princess Magdalene, ends abruptly. On the next page he narrates how King James wedded the Princess on the first day of 1536 and left Havre de Grace in May, landing at Leith on the day of Pentecost, and proceeding to Edinburgh, 'ou depuis elle mourut ou moys de Iuillet mil cinq cens trente sept.' Then Desmontiers prints four epitaphs upon Queen Magdalene which have not hitherto been quoted by any Scottish historian. These may have been obtained by Desmontiers directly from the authors. The first is by Etienne Dolet, born at Orleans in 1509, who gained a wide reputation as a theologian. He set up a printing-press at Lyons, and published several of his own books; but these were too advanced for

the time, and in 1543 the Parlement condemned his books to be burned as too favourable to the 'German heresy.' Three years afterwards (1546) he was burned to death at the stake. Scaliger, who was a personal enemy of Dolet, has attacked his memory in a scurrilous lampoon; but more temperate critics have praised Dolet as a Latinist of great merit. The following is his epitaph on Magdalene, as quoted by Desmontiers:

'Mag. Valesiæ. Francisci Fræcorum regis filiæ &
Jacobi Scotorum regis coniugis Epitaphium.

Autore Dolet.

Vere vicissitudo rerum est & bonis mala

Attexta: rege nata patre

Regisque cōiunx nec patris diu gloriam

Suspexi & in vsum tam breuem

Successit maritus rex mihi.

Sic num dupliciter iure querar?'

[Verily, things change, and good is dashed with evil. The daughter of a King and by a King espoused, neither for long did I admire the glory of my father, and brief was the joy the King my husband had in me. So, may I not justly make a twofold plaint?]

The second epitaph is described as 'Aliud, Io. Vvlteio, auctore,' and is as follows:

'Post matris, fratrisque mei, mortisque Sororū
Postque facem thalami, fax mihi adest tumuli.'

[After the death of my mother, my brother, and my sisters, and after the torch of wedlock, the funeral torch is mine.]

The third epitaph is by Nicolas Desfrenes (whose Latinised name was Fraxinus), the celebrated theologian of Louvain, and Canon of St. Peter's in that city, who was a noted classicist. He was entrusted with the revision of the translation of the Bible by Febvre d'Etaples, published at Louvain. His epitaph is the most elaborate of the four:

'Quæ nil perpetuum toto sperarat in orbe
Occidit vt fati sensit adesse diem
Compositâ mortem venturaque funera longe
Prospiciens inquit morte sequetur honos
Nam vixi, in terris titulis decorata deorum:
Atque meo iūxi fœdere regna duo.
Scotorum vidi populum, turbasque frequentes:
Quæ mihi lætitiæ signa dedere suæ.
Quid superest? regum nunc more corona paratur,
Vt factis tandem præmia digna feram
Hæc nō humana constructa est mente, sed alta
Vi superum, quos non interitura iuuant.'

38 Scotland described for Queen Magdalene

[She who had thought (or hoped) that nothing in the whole world was abiding, sank when she felt the day of death was nigh. For, long fore-seeing the death she had to meet, and the burial sure to come, she said, 'Glory shall follow death. For I have lived adorned while on earth with divine honours, and by my wedlock I have linked two Kingdoms. I have seen the people and the thronging crowds of the Scots, who gave me tokens of their joys. What is left? Now, after the manner of Kings, a crown is provided, that I may win at last the prize my deeds deserve. This hath not been fashioned by man's device, but by the mighty power of the gods who joy in the everlasting.']

The fourth epitaph is described as 'in Phaleucian verse' (that is, in lines of eleven syllables), but the name of the author is not given. The phrase, 'beata lethe,' must mean 'happy Leith,' as the margin bears the words, 'Portus Scotiæ.'

*'Et fratres Helenæ et poli nitentes
Stellas vidimus esse nauigantis
Reginæ comites ducesque fidas
Neptunum tumido mari imperatrem
Ventorum que patrem suis minantem
Vt nos exciperet beata lethe
Sed mors vnica sic latens fefellit
Vt post sæua maris pericla solam
Se vitæ doceat tenere fila.'*

[We saw the brothers of Helen, and the bright stars of the sky were the companions and faithful pilots of the Queen on her voyage. We saw Neptune controlling the swelling sea, and the father of the winds threatening his offspring that happy Leith might welcome us. But Death, lurking, alone escaped us, that, after the cruel perils of the sea, it might teach us that it alone holds the threads of life.]

Here must terminate the description of this very curious book. There can be no question that it was specially written for the information of the Princess Magdalene, who may have read it in manuscript, for evidently it was not printed till after her death. It could not have been written before 1537, the year in which Boece's work was printed at Paris, and thus its date is easily and certainly ascertained. As a strange fragment of the contemporary history of James V., the Scottish History Society might print this book, with the parallel passages from Boece and Bellenden.

A. H. MILLAR.

Letter from William Stewart to Y^e Regent

5 August 1569

ALL the facts known to me about this letter (which appears in a condensed form in Mr. Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, 1563-69, No. 1114) are given in my *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 374-379 (London, 1901). Sir William Stewart, Lyon Herald, author of the letter, was sent to Denmark in February, 1568, to ask for Bothwell's extradition. He was in Scotland by June, 1568. On July 20, 1568, Drury, from Berwick, informs Cecil of the plot against Regent Moray, to which this letter refers: and also speaks of pranks of conjurers and treasure-hunters near Edinburgh, including 'Wile Stwart, Kyng off heraulde.'

Brit. Mus., Add. MS. 33, tr. 31, f. 81.

'BEING suspected Moste Mercyful Regent to have bene a Partaker or at Least concealer off a pretendit conspiracy I have thocht it convenient asweil for the manifestation off the trewth as for my awn po'gation to declair so far as my knowlege Reacheth the whole discourse off the (?) mater. And first Most virtuous Regent as touching my owne innocence I beleive that nether yo' gr. nor none other wil accuse me to haue had ain part in the deuysing & concludwing off the said conspiracy and thogh sum wold yit shal the trewth overcome thair vniust accusation for thogh lacketh so mekle that I shuld be gilty in any portion off the same that at this howr I know no when nor where It was concludit or deuysit. nether dar I swear yf ever any sik thing was concludit or not. Bot It may be Replyed that I am pwnishment worthy becawse I concealed the pretendit conspiracy. Albeit Moste mercyful Regent that the concealing off treason disserueth punishment, yit for al that have I disserued none at al for the principal deuysaris & autho's off the alledgit conspiracy are not convinced off treason and vntil sik tyme as the mater be tryed treason I can not be accused to have concealed treason. And albeit this one answer be one Inuincible defence against al that can be laid to my charge in this mater yit wil I to geve a further tryal off my innocency proceed further. Admitting then that It war treason & that they had conspyred yo' gr. mo'tho' quik wil never be provin, yit have I cofmited none offence vnless yowr gr. wil cal it an offence to conceal a thing vniuersally published before jt com to my eares. for jt js moste certaine Moste mercyful Regent that besides the secret advertisement that yowr gr. gat off the mater quik was lang before jt cam to my

knowledge the brwt off this conspiracy was tossed vp & down al Edinburgh the self same day that the persown tald jt vnto me qtk was wednesday the xxj day off July, & word com that sameday how the comptrollar after he had po'git him off the conspiracy was gone owt off stirueling. Moreover thogh jt had not bene disclosed yit do not I know giff I dwrst haue Reuealit the mater or not vnto your gra. One Reason in a maner is this because that I never thocht nether can any man perswade me to this howr that the persowns nominat by the persown off Kynnoir wald jnterprysyt sik a vyle & execrable mo'ther, and I am assured that yo' gr. self wil not believe jt, bot y' gr. knowing thair names wil not only prais & allow my by past taciturnitye bot also command y^e po'pose to be bwryed with sylence in tyme to come.

The second js that I was moste asswred that thogh thay & al Scotland had conspyred yo' gr. death that jt had bene in vaine for I know weil yo' gr. shal jncour no mortal dawnger (mortal I say) bot by domestical treason like as at al tymes every man might haue conceaut by my speaking & wrythings. And giff your gr. thinks this my opinion vane yit do not I esteame it so, for he that told me the same hath foreshowed me so many trew thingis that I can not bot in this cace belieue him. for this man foreshew me the slawghter off the quenis hwsband in the Rwyn & forfaling off the Earle bothwel, & not only my last voyage bot also where & for what cawse I shuld mak jt, the death off lyon herald, my promotion & derECTION, the quenis deliucrance & yo' g. victory at the Lang syd. and besides al these many other trew thinges & since the event & experience have declared him trew in al these predictionis, why shuld I then distrust him in this one? Wherin also (giff any conspiracy was) the event hath approved his trewth. Bot to Retowrne to my former Reasons. I can not be accusit to have concealed treason al the mater be tryed treason. And thogh jt war treason yit haue not I offendit, for the mater was manifestly spokin before it come to my eares, and the Jnterpryse past al execution, for the comptrollar was gone owt off stirueling before the po'pose was Reuealed vnto me. And giff neid be I am able to prove that I knew the po'pose disclosed vnto yo' gr. lang before that the persown reuealed the same vnto me & thairfore prayd him ernstlye to haue no meddling in the matter, & willed him no ways to go to stirueling. Now how I knew jt your gr. shal here. A certaine familiar co'tiour come to my awn howse abowt the middest off July in the last year at xj a clock or y'by before none & told me those wordes. Trewly (sais he), ye wil not trow a certan conspiracy js Reuealed to my lord Regent & amangs others that hes deusyt his g. slawghter thair is sum off his owne frendis. Is no this a strawnge case that they wil not suffer that gwdeman to live amangst ws? Trewly said I, I know nothing off the mater, & as to his frendis, I know none that favoreth the quenis ma^{te} saving Arthure only, & I dowbt greatly giff he haiff the cwrage to jnterpryse so great a mater.

Forsiuth (sayeth he) I know not whome to suspect, thair js off al the quenis faction bot one man whome I fear that Is my lord boyd for he js a man off a good wit & of great jnterpryses. Weil said I al their jnterpryses wil tak no effect for my lord Regent shal inco' no dawnger bot by domestical treason. These ar the very wordis sa neir as I can Remembre that both he & I spak at that tyme, & do po'posely recite the same to cal the po'pose to his Remembrance. for jt may be that because the mater towcheth him not, he haue foryet the same. Behold Moste m'cyful Regent how jnnocent I am off the alledgit offence & how vnistly I haue bene hetherto accused off treason & mo'ther quhillis ar in earth the thingis qtk I haue moste abhorred, yea in so farre haue I abhorred Rebellion yat I haue always thocht & yit thinks jt vnlauchful to Resist the very

tyrants or vsurpars how wikked so ever thay be fallowing heirin the holy wryttingis off daniel & jeremy prophetes off pawl peter & otheris, yea & in maters off Religion haue thought jt & yit dois think yt vnlawchful to Resist the magistrat. How greatly thinketh yo' gr. then wold jt be against my conscience treasonably to conspyre consent or conceal the mo'tho' off a magistrat professing the trew doctrine of cryst Jesus. Wherefore I moste humbly beseik yo' gr. that as my good fame & estimation hath heirin bene moste vniustlye sclawnderit, that jt wil pleass yo' gr. off yo' great humanitye & goodnes that my Jnnocency towching this vile sclawnder be manifested to the end that not only sik as know me in this contrey bot also al otheris in foraine nationis to whome this detestable brwte hath bene Raported may chawnge opinion & haue me lyke as my Jnnocency disserueth in thair wonted good favo' & estimation. This moste victorious Regent is the trew discourss off the mater, & giff the persown hes for fear off his lyff deposed otherways off me then I haue heir confessit I wil asswre yo' gr. he hes done far besides the trewth as by confrontation giff yo' gr. pleaseth shal apear. As to the authoris & sik as shwld haue bene executouris off the alledgit treasonable fact [can I not for great Reasons wryt, nether wil I coffunicat thame bot vnto yo' gr. ðlye,]¹ and when & where jt shwld haff bene done, & jn hope off what Reward, can I not for great Reasons wryt, nether wil I vncompelled coffunicate thame bot vnto yo' gr. ðlye. And so maist humbly craving yo' gr. pardon for al other offences & praying yo gr. to Remember the coffendable word that Hadrian the Empriour said to his deadlye Jnnemy And to cal to mynd that yo' gr. Js now no priuat man and thairfore can not wth great coffendation pwnish or Revenge any priuat jniury coffits yo' gr. to the protection off God. Off the castel off edinburgh the v off august 1569.

yo' graces

Maist humble seruito'

WM STEWART.'

In the *Diurnal of Occurrents*, Aug. 14, 1568, we are told that the 'Parson of Kynnoir,' Patrick Hepburn, revealed the plot against Moray; and the names of the conspirators, Patrick being Bothwell's cousin. Stewart had already fled to Dumbarton Castle, as suspect of a part in the conspiracy (August 2, Birrell's *Diary*, p. 17). From the shelter of Dumbarton Stewart wrote a cocky letter to a lord unnamed (Aug. 19, Chalmers, *Mary Stuart*, I. 441, 442). He professed his innocence, but said that some of the Privy Council were guilty, and called Moray 'a bloody usurper.' He was captured, how we do not know, and lodged in Edinburgh Castle, where he wrote to Moray the letter here published. On August 15, 1569, he was burned at St. Andrews as a warlock.

A. LANG.

¹ Crossed through in the Original.

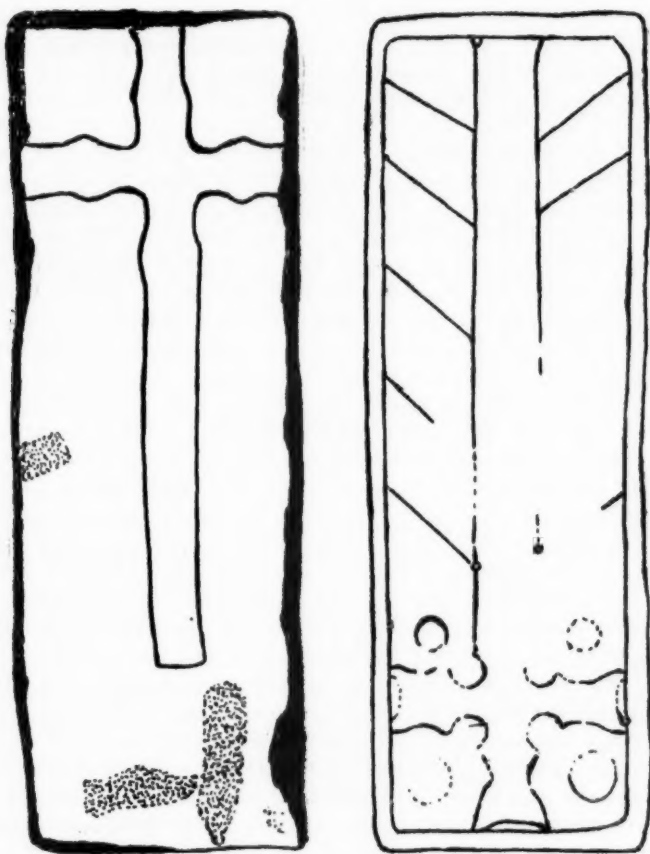
A Cross-Slab at St. Andrews

EVER since the ruins of the Culdean church at the Kirk-Heugh were laid bare in 1860, St. Andrews has been the proud possessor of an extensive and invaluable collection of local specimens of early Christian monuments. This collection increased very slowly until 1891, when several specimens, previously unknown, were uncovered in the base of the east gable of the Cathedral; and since that time no fewer than eighteen have been dug up in the immediate neighbourhood, fourteen being within the adjoining burying-ground, two within the Priory grounds, and two within the grounds of the Girls' School. On recalling the fact that the fourteen stones referred to (four of which are complete) have been unearthed by the present care-taker of the burying-ground during his thirteen years' tenure of office, one almost shudders to think of the number that may have been ruthlessly broken up and thrown over the cliff by his less careful predecessors. With three exceptions the whole collection has been described by Mr. Romilly Allen in his recently issued *Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*.

It was impossible to include in that noble work the stone now to be described, as it was not found until the 15th of May, 1903. That morning when a grave was being opened twelve or fourteen feet to the north of the north-east corner of St. Rule's Chapel, the projecting corner of a flat stone was uncovered. Almost the whole of the stone lay further north, in the next grave, but with considerable trouble it was extricated and pulled up to the surface undamaged. It was then found to be a cross-slab, measuring from three and a quarter to four and a quarter inches in thickness; from twenty to twenty and a half inches in breadth; and five feet in length. It was also found that there was an incised cross on each of its two faces, and that these crosses were not only dissimilar in style, but pointed in opposite directions. There is manifestly a long period—probably two, perhaps even three centuries—between the respective dates of these two crosses.

The more recent may be described first, as it was on the upper

surface when found. The slab is of hard free-stone ; but unfortunately there has been a thin layer of a shaly-looking substance under this upper surface, and as it has partly scaled off, the details



Celtic Cross-Slab. Scale one-twelfth.

of the pattern have been somewhat destroyed. Enough remains, however, to show that a panel has been formed by cutting an incised line near the outer edge of the slab ; that the cross, at the head and foot, as well as at the ends of its arms, touches this incised border line ; that there is a constriction on each of the

upper limbs of the cross; that there has been a circle of about three and a half inches in diameter above each arm, and a circle of about two and a half inches in diameter below each arm; that there are at least four small circles, each about half an inch in diameter, in the incised lines of the cross; that the space on either side of the shaft has been divided by diagonal lines (five of these being visible on one side and two on the other); and that these diagonal lines have not been quite parallel. The decoration of the space on either side of the shaft by such diagonal lines is a rare, if not unique, feature. It is obvious that when this cross was designed the whole of the surface on which it is incised was meant to be exposed, and that the stone was therefore intended to be recumbent. When found it was lying east and west, and practically level; and was apparently *in situ*, although the head of the cross was towards the east and the foot towards the west. Before removing it, it was ascertained that the orientation was the same as that of the Cathedral, and that its upper surface was four feet three inches below the present level of the ground.

The earlier cross, on the other surface of the slab, is of simpler design, and has been more rudely executed; but is in a very much better state of preservation, the pattern being quite distinct. Unlike the rest of the stone, which is of a tawny-yellow colour, this surface is of a reddish-brown; and beyond the removal of two or three protuberances (?), no attempt has been made to get rid of its natural inequalities. There is no border line to form a panel, and no decoration except the four bulbs on the cross itself; and the shaft is far from being plumb. The work may be safely assigned to the ninth or tenth century. Although the top of the cross and the ends of the arms reach, or almost reach, the edges of the slab, the foot of the shaft does not do so by thirteen inches. From this feature it may perhaps be inferred that when this cross was designed it was intended that the stone should stand upright; and yet, in that case, it would hardly have been necessary to remove the protuberances at the bottom. On this surface there is another peculiarity, which gives it a blotched appearance. Whatever caused this, it must have been done after the cross was incised, for it occurs in the incised lines as well as on the undressed stone. Various theories have been propounded. In some respects the marking is not unlike that caused by lichens; but it does not seem possible that any trace of a lichen would remain on that surface of a stone which had been underground for seven or eight centuries. It bears a still closer resemblance to the alga. which

forms dull-red, skin-like coatings on rocks and stones in pools at the sea-shore ; and this resemblance is not lessened by the more distinctly marked circles, which look as if they had been exuded, and remind one of the traces of small limpets and barnacles on the rocks. The alga on a sea-stone, however, entirely disappeared when tested by hydrochloric acid, whereas the incrustation on this stone only partially disappeared from the spot to which that acid was applied. It has also been suggested that the marking may be due to a deposit of lime derived from a dead body. A very small quantity was subjected by Mr. Marshall to qualitative analysis, from which it appeared that it consisted mainly of carbonate of lime, with a slight proportion of phosphate of lime and sulphate of lime ; but the quantity of the material examined was too small for satisfactory or exhaustive analysis.

Several of the Celtic stones so plentifully scattered over Scotland have been utilised in later ages in a way that their makers never contemplated. For example, the stone in Crail church has had a shield and coat of arms cut upon it ; and the one in Dunino has been converted into a sun-dial. But few, if any besides this St. Andrews one, have been re-adapted, in a remote age after a long interval, and re-adorned by a Celtic cross of such a different type. It should be mentioned that the incised lines on both surfaces of the stone have been done by a sharp-pointed, pick-like implement. The four small circles have apparently been produced by a revolving tool of some kind, something of the nature of a drill or brace-and-bit. In my sketch of the older face, neither the blotches nor the natural inequalities of the surface are shown, but merely the cross itself, the traces of the supposed protuberances, and the chipping along the edges of the stone. In my sketch of the later face, the details which are distinct are shown by unbroken lines, those which are uncertain by dotted lines, and weather markings are ignored.

D. HAY FLEMING.

A Hindrance to Genealogy

WHEN the first volume of the House of Gordon—which the New Spalding Club have in hand—makes its appearance, it may surprise many readers that the Editor has started so vast a subject by dealing with three lesser cadets, and not with any of the main lines. This arrangement, however, has been chosen with the utmost deliberation, and the principle involved in it is applicable to the genealogical treatment of nearly all the great families.

Nothing strikes the genealogist of to-day so forcibly as the vast amount of wasted power which has been expended over the subject. This wastage has militated not only against the completion of the particular subject in hand, but against the practice of genealogy as a whole, and has brought that useful art at times into perilous disrepute. I believe that the curse which has affected much of our genealogical inquiry has been the desire for definitiveness. Investigator has followed investigator, travelling precisely the same road; but, unlike most travellers, he has too often failed to vouchsafe to posterity the results of his observations. Had he been content to print, or at any rate to leave in a form that could be manipulated by others, the result of his work, genealogy would to-day stand on a far better basis than it does. But each worker insists on starting on the main line himself, and working downwards through its cadets. The consequence has been that while we may have several books printed on the main line, the cadets are rarely dealt with.

The history of the house of Gordon is a striking case in point. The whole effort of the genealogist, in something like 150 years, has gone to elucidate the history of the ducal line, and, as the activities of that line were practically identical with much of the nation's history, the general result has been extremely disappointing. It has led, for example, to there being practically no book whatever dealing with the numerous branches of the

family who were content to remain on the Borders, while the more important cadets in the North have remained without a historian at all. I have come across great collections of material, painfully got together, which are practicably unworkable, except by the original collector. The same books have been ransacked, the same sashes copied; indeed the whole sources of information have been utilised by the different workers over and over again, with but small result.

The Antiquarian Clubs have been working assiduously for 80 years (the Bannatyne was founded in 1823); and the raw material has gone on multiplying persistently in every sort of form. Quarry after quarry has been opened up, and yet, so far as genealogy is concerned, little has been done to make use of the buried material. Even the genealogies which Sir William Fraser gave us were really quarries in themselves, illustrating in most cases the main lines of a family as told in its charter chest, with but little attempt to elucidate the history of the smaller branches.

Short of a scheme of organised co-operation, it is almost certain that the complete history of the great families will never be properly done unless tackled in a piecemeal way; that is to say, by the publication of accounts of cadets of whatever importance as the worker finishes them, without reference to a general scheme: so that the next inquirer may be saved the trouble of doing useless research. Organised co-operation is practically impossible, for scarcely any of the workers will agree upon the same method, and the risk of overlapping is almost inevitable.

Such a journal as the *Scottish Historical Review* can do much to help this piecemeal treatment of genealogy. That is why I venture to write in this strain. By way of a footnote I cannot help mentioning the enormous activity of American genealogists. Here is a people busy with the world of affairs in a way we scarcely understand: keen on money getting and eager for the day's work. And yet the merest amateurs there find time to investigate their history with relentless energy. The fact is a useful reminder to those who regard Antiquary and Antediluvian as interchangeable terms.

J. M. BULLOCH.

Hill Burton in Error

HILL BURTON'S *History of Scotland* has been so long before the public, and, in default of a better work on the same scale, has been so widely read that it would be mere waste of time to enlarge on its admitted defects—its lack of insight into character and events, its want of coherence, continuity, and proportion, and its loose, slovenly, undignified, though sometimes amusing, style. A Scotsman, content to learn the history of his country from Hill Burton's book, might be pardoned for thinking that Nature's journeymen had made some of its greatest men, and not made them well. A statesman so patriotic as Maitland and so acutely sensitive to the pressure of his age will be presented to him as 'the avowed scientific politician whose intellect was stuffed with foreign subtleties,' and whose qualities 'were rather rhetorical than practical';¹ from half-a-dozen pages headed 'Knox—His Death and Character' he will learn that the Reformer claimed to be a prophet, gave Sunday supper-parties, and was not personally vicious; and he will discover that Montrose was a vastly over-rated person who deserted the Covenanters because he had been superseded by Leslie and hated Argyll, and who was defeated on the first occasion on which he encountered a commander of repute. He will infer that the question whether Gowrie and his brother had or had not conspired to kidnap James VI. is of far more consequence than the origin of that 'ecclesiastical reaction' which resulted, forty years later, in the Puritan revolution, since 37 pages are devoted to the former point and only 2½ to the latter. He will be told that 'the royal mind' of Charles I., uttered obscurely to the people, 'was in confidence let out to the Commissioner';² and perhaps, without being a very rigid purist, he may object to such sentences as these: 'They held at him in this fashion to the very end on the scaffold';³ 'Implicit obedience is the key-note of the traces left on his personal conduct.'⁴

¹ Second Edition, iii. 344; v. 132. ² vi. 200. ³ v. 180. ⁴ vii. 184.

It has, however, been maintained, and is perhaps generally believed, that these defects are balanced, if not outweighed, by conspicuous merits. The writer of the obituary notice in *Blackwood's Magazine* (Sept. 1881), whilst admitting Burton's discursiveness and want of imagination, credits him with a 'power of intense and patient observation'; and Dr. Garnett, in a very discriminating article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, says that he possessed 'in perfection all the ordinary and indispensable qualities of the historian,' and excelled in 'closeness of investigation' and in 'critical research.' This reputation for accuracy Burton probably owes in great measure to the fact, obvious to every reader, that he is absolutely impartial. The ideal historian must be so; and yet the impartiality which proceeds, not from control over one's personal feelings, but from mere lack of sympathy and interest may be far more conducive to careless writing than the partisanship, which does indeed warp a man's judgment, but which may at the same time inspire him to take great pains with his work. M'Crie, for example, the biographer of Knox and Melville, was intensely prejudiced; but no writer of Scottish history is more reliable, more studiously accurate, in his statement of facts.

If Burton had a 'power of intense and patient observation,' or at all events if, having such a power, he habitually used it, one cannot but note with surprise that he makes glaring blunders, and that too in a second edition which, as he tells us in the preface, he had endeavoured 'to the extent of his capacity' to make accurate as well as complete. It is such a blunder to say that Hamilton commanded the English contingent at the battle of Leipsic,¹ where he was not present at all; that Rupert routed the forces opposed to him at Marston Moor;² that Charles in his 'Engagement' with the Scots accepted the terms which he had refused at Newcastle in 1646, undertaking to be a 'Covenanted monarch';³ that the term 'Resolutioner' originated in the resolution [not to set aside the Act of Classes, but] to acknowledge Charles II.;⁴ that Sharp, a leading Resolutioner, procured the Ordinance of 1654, which was issued two years before his

¹ Second Edition, vi. 411.

² vi. 361.

³ vi. 409.

⁴ vii. 249, note. There are other mistakes in this note. The Act of Classes was passed in 1649, not in 1650, and it could not have divided the Covenanters into 'Argyleites and Classites,' for Argyll himself introduced the Act. As to the term 'Resolutioner,' however, Burton elsewhere gives the true explanation.

first visit to London, and in favour of the Protesters;¹ that none of the old bishops survived at the Restoration;² and that the indulged ministers retained their cures till the Revolution.³ The author is mistaken when he says that six commissioners [not eight] represented Scotland at Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin;⁴ that Argyll was still in arms for Queen Mary at the time of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew;⁵ that Maitland 'was found dead after the surrender' of Edinburgh Castle⁶—he died at Leith, six weeks later; that all the fourteen Covenanters summoned by Charles I. to Berwick in 1639 [and not only eight] refused to attend;⁷ that Prince Rupert [not Prince Maurice] was Montrose's superior in the Scottish command;⁸ and that Langdale's English division was in advance [not in the rear] when Cromwell attacked the army of the Engagement at Preston.⁹

It may be noted also that he represents the army sent by Elizabeth to the assistance of the Lords of the Congregation as being conveyed by sea after the Treaty of Berwick,¹⁰ whereas the fleet was sent before the treaty, and the army, after, advanced by land; that he makes James VI.'s visit to Scotland of three months' duration in 1616 extend over a year;¹¹ that he calls a man so detested by the Covenanters as Sir John Hay 'a neutral figure in the confusions of the times';¹² that he places the surrender of Charles I. to the Scots in 1645, instead of in 1646;¹³ that he confounds the causes of the public fast instituted after the battle of Dunbar with Guthrie's famous pamphlet, *The Causes of the Lord's Wrath*;¹⁴ that he dates the skirmish at Drumclog, June 11, instead of June 1, 1679;¹⁵ and that he makes the expedition of Claverhouse into Galloway in 1682 contemporaneous with the execution of John Brown of Priestfield in 1685.¹⁶ In his account of the projects of union which followed the accession of James VI. to the English throne, he says that 'such invidious restraints' were removed 'as had in the earlier law anticipated the restrictive English navigation Acts of later times.'¹⁷

¹ Second Edition, vii. 65. ² vii. 147. ³ vii. 458. ⁴ iii. 289.

⁵ v. 114. See *History of King James Sixth*, p. 85, and Calderwood, iii. 135.

⁶ v. 129. ⁷ vi. 269. ⁸ vi. 365. ⁹ vi. 414. ¹⁰ iii. 369. ¹¹ vi. 43.

¹² vi. 171. On p. 329 Burton himself tells us that this 'neutral figure' was excepted from the indemnity of 1641; but the index shows that he took the Sir John Hay so excepted to be a different person.

¹³ vi. 403. ¹⁴ vii. 35. ¹⁵ vii. 223. ¹⁶ vii. 251. ¹⁷ v. 411.

This, had it really been made, would have been a most important concession; but any one who refers to the English statutes (vol. iii., p. 64) will find that the law repealed was not the Navigation Act of 1381, but the immediately preceding and quite obsolete Act of the same year, which provided that no one should leave the realm without the King's permission. Of the Act Recissory, 1661, Burton says that it cancelled 'all legislation later than the year 1638, for the Parliament of 1639 passed no statutes.'¹ Why he should mention 1638 does not appear, since the last Parliament before 1639 had been held in 1633; but, apart from this, his account of Middleton's famous law cannot be accepted as correct. The Act Recissory annulled all Parliaments, except in so far as they had legislated in favour of private rights, from 1640 to 1648, inclusive; the Whiggamore Parliament of 1649 was annulled, not by this, but by a previous statute of the same session; but a Parliament under the personal authority of Charles II. had sat from 1650 to 1651, and this Parliament was not and could not have been annulled, seeing that almost the first act of Charles on his return to power had been to revive the Committee of Estates which it had appointed at its adjournment, and which the Cromwellian troops had captured, soon afterwards at Alyth. Nevertheless, as pointed out by a contemporary writer,² it may be a question for lawyers why the Parliament of 1661 should style itself the first Parliament of Charles II.

The only objection to the statements just cited is the somewhat serious one that they are at variance with the facts. Let us now look at a statement which is absurdly improbable as well as wholly untrue. Most readers of Scottish ecclesiastical history must be aware that James VI. sought to compound for his inroads on the Presbyterian organisation by a rigorous prosecution of Papists. The Linlithgow Assemblies of 1606 and 1608, at the instigation of the Crown, were particularly active in this matter, the Marquis of Huntly and three other Catholic noblemen being excommunicated; and in November, 1608, the Presbytery of Edinburgh drew up a letter to the King, thanking him for his severity against such 'as the Kirk here has at last been forced to cut off and excommunicate from her society.'³ It is almost incredible that a serious historian

¹ Second Edition, vii. 143. ² Brown of Wamphray in his *Apologetical Relation*.

³ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, i. 166.

should have supposed, as Burton does,¹ that this letter was inspired, not by the recent proceedings against the Catholics, which it expressly mentions, but by the condemnation for treason, two and a half years before, of the ultra-Presbyterians who had attempted to hold an assembly at Aberdeen. These extremists had outlived their popularity; but the Presbytery of Edinburgh must have gone mad before it could have thanked the King for trying and banishing them; and assuredly the Melville party had not been, nor was ever likely to be, excommunicated.

It is not given to many historians, and seldom even to Burton, to sin on such a scale as this; but his detailed statements are so loosely constructed, and show so little evidence of what the *Blackwood* writer calls 'his strong tenacious grasp of the past,' that to assume them accurate would be a far bolder assumption than to take for granted that they are incorrect. From a general survey of his work from the Reformation onwards, one would suppose that, having looked through rather than studied his authorities, and then put them away, he was content to reproduce whatever general impression had been left on his mind. He can hardly have worked with the authorities before him, noticing where this writer confirms, supplements, or conflicts with, that. For example, in dealing with the career of Montrose, he seems to have remembered that somebody, whom we know to have been John Stewart of Ladywell, was cited by Montrose as his authority for the statement that Argyll meant to depose the King, and that Montrose had employed a certain Colonel Alexander Stewart, whom Traquair always called Captain, to convey letters to Charles. The latter personage he does not mention; but the former, transformed apparently by an unspoken association in the writer's mind, appears as Captain James Stewart.² Captain one can understand, but why James?

A more striking example of the same confusion of ideas occurs in his account of the Darien scheme. He tells us that, after the Indian and African Company had learned for certain that the first colony had withdrawn from Darien, 'they fitted out an auxiliary expedition, with warlike instructions, and a tried old soldier, Campbell of Finab, at its head'; that this expedition had orders to re-occupy the settlement, if necessary, by force, not to allow its flag to be insulted by that of any

¹ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, v. 436.

² v. 334.

Hill Burton in Error

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nation, and to regard no documents, though professedly in the King's name, which were not countersigned by a Secretary of State for Scotland.¹ Whoever has made a careful scrutiny of the *Darien Papers*, edited by Burton himself for the Bannatyne Club, will see at a glance what confusion we have here. Campbell of Finab, with credit for £1000, was ordered to take his passage in 'the galley belonging to Captain John Moses,' or in any other trading vessel, to the West Indies, and there to purchase provisions for the settlement—a mission which he successfully carried out; there was no 'auxiliary expedition'; and the orders as to the flag and Government documents had been given, about a month before, to the captain of a ship sent out to trade on the West African coast.² Four pages further on, we are told that 'two vessels containing further detachments' arrived after the colony had surrendered to the Spaniards, and narrowly escaped capture. This is most inaccurate. The two vessels in question conveyed supplies only, not detachments, and the first was allowed to enter by the terms of the capitulation.

Burton's capacity for compressing a great quantity of error into the smallest possible space may be seen to best advantage in the following passage, referring to the abortive Assembly held, or attempted to be held, by the ultra-Presbyterians in 1605: 'It was determined among his (Andrew Melville's) party to invade the enemy and hold a General Assembly at Aberdeen. It was prohibited by royal proclamation. The great body of the clergy stayed at home; but Melville and his immediate friends journeyed to Aberdeen, and met there, nine in number. This small body went through a good deal of work in protesting and remonstrating; and in a second meeting, also denounced by royal authority, they mustered nineteen.'³ This passage may be criticised thus: (1) The Assembly was held at Aberdeen because the last Assembly of 1602 had appointed it to meet there, not because the ultra-Presbyterians wished 'to invade the enemy'; (2) the Assembly was not prohibited by royal proclamation—it was merely postponed till after the Parliament, and the Melville party resolved to keep the day originally fixed; (3) Andrew Melville himself did not go to Aberdeen; (4) those who

¹ *Original Letters to James VI.*, Bannatyne Club, viii. 54.

² *Darien Papers*, pp. 171, 176.

³ v. 433.

arrived on July 2 were 19, not 9; (5) those who arrived later were 9, not 19; (6) the first company had left Aberdeen before the second arrived; (7) there was no 'protesting and remonstrating'—the Assembly was merely continued to the first Tuesday of September. On the next page but one, we are told that five of the ministers who had convened at Aberdeen were brought to trial. In point of fact the number was six.¹

To be charitable, one must suppose that Burton did not compile his own index; but a little 'intense and patient observation' might surely have been employed in this quarter, if not before the work was published, at all events before it was re-issued. The long-lived Earl of Rothes, whose public career in the first edition extended over 113 years, has indeed been reduced to less unnatural limits; but the sixth Earl and his son the Duke are still treated as one and the same; so are three Earls of Argyll (with part of a fourth) and two Dukes of Hamilton; there are two lords Balmerinoch and two Sir John Hay's where there should be only one; Balcanquhall, the stout old Presbyterian divine, is said to have written Charles I.'s *Large Declaration*; and the eighth Earl of Angus, James Melville's intimate friend, is said to have been a party to the Catholic conspiracy of the 'Spanish Blanks.'

W. L. MATHIESON.

¹See the contemporary accounts in Forbes's *Records*, in Calderwood, and in Botfield's *Original Letters*.

Old Oaths and Interjections

WHEN greatly moved, man has in all ages been accustomed to express his feelings in such words as seemed to him most readily to convey to others the perturbed state of his mind, the mere expression of itself affording relief. Vehement moods beget vehement words. In looking through our early vernacular literature one is struck with the variety of expletives of this kind. It shows for one thing that there was a demand for expressive words of an interjectional character,—winged words that would startle the hearer and make an impression on him. The demand created the supply, and oaths and imprecations of all kinds abound. The purpose of this note is to draw attention to, and give some examples of the use of a few of these that occur to one, not following any order, but confining the view to medieval times, and to words and phrases now obsolete.

As crowned heads have precedence, let us by all means give the first place to King Philip Augustus of France, who, when he heard that King Richard of England was going on Crusade—stealing away, as the King of France thought, without announcing his intention—gave utterance to his displeasure in very strong language. As the Chronicler puts it:

‘Loke how Kyng Philip said uncurteisly,
“Dathet haf his lip, and his nose therby!”’¹

In *The Lay of Havelok the Dane* this interjection occurs frequently. Earl Godrich of Cornwall uses it to give, as he thought, force to his determination to keep his ward Goldborough out of her rightful inheritance:

‘Datheit hwo it hire yeve
Evere-more hwil I live!’²

¹ Robert of Brunne's *Chronicle* [Hearne], p. 143.

² *Havelok* [Skeat], ll. 300-1.

In the metrical Romance of *Sir Tristrem* we have :

'Therl seyð "dathet him ay
Of Tristrem gif this stounde!"'¹

This old imprecation is not Anglo-Saxon; it came over with the Conqueror, but early found an abiding place here. It is explained as coming from the Merovingian French, 'Deu hat,' meaning 'God's hate.'²

In the alliterative *Morte Arthure* we have, as might be expected, many oaths used by the knights in the midst of the hazards of their feats of valour. Sir Bedwere, who is no Puritan, has a good stock of vigorous expletives. For example :

'Be Myghell, of syche a makk I hafe myche wondyre
That ever owre Soveraygne Lorde suffers hym in heven;
And all seyntez be syche, that servez our Lord,
I sall never no seynt be, be my fadyre sawle!'³

It is a pity that he gets killed early in his career, and we thus lose his robust turns of expression. Sir Gawayne, as we might expect, uses on occasion several terse imprecations that give satisfaction even now to the natural man. Thus, when he is working himself up for his final and fatal encounter with the traitor Sir Mordred, he addresses him in fiery words :

'Fals fosterd foode, the fende have thy bonys!
Fy one the, felone, and thy false werkys!
Thow sall be dede and undon for thy derfe dedys,
Or I sall dy this daye, gif destanye worthe!'⁴

In medieval literature generally, as in modern, we find many illustrations of the fact that a prayer for Divine counsel and guidance rises almost involuntarily to the lips at a crisis :

'Soth is that men seyth and suereth:
Ther God wil helpen, nouht ne dereth.'⁵

The phrase 'So' God me rede' is thus a common one :

'Ne sholen thi wif no shame bedede,
No more than min, so God me rede!'⁶

¹ *Sir Tristrem* [S.T.S.], ll. 1875-6.

² See 'Dahet' in *Oxford English Dictionary*.

³ *Morte Arthure*, ll. 1166-9.

⁴ *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3776-79.

⁵ *Havelok*, ll. 646-7.

⁶ *Ibid.* ll. 2084-5.

In fact it is used as an oath, having little of its literal significance left :

‘For litel shal I do the lede
To the galues, so God me rede!’¹

‘Thought he war Sampson himself, sa me Criste reid!
I forsaik noght to feght, for al his grete feir.’²

A well-known asseveration in the north was Goddot = God wot!

‘Goddot!’ quath Leue, ‘y shal the fete
Bred and chese, butere and milk,
Pastees and flaunes . . .’³

Perhaps some of your readers may be able to supply many more examples of early strong language. The natural man will not keep under; even the stainless King Arthur cannot confine himself to ‘yea, yea,’ and ‘nay, nay,’ at a crisis:

‘Hevinly God!’ said the heynd, ‘how happynis this thing?’⁴

JOHN EDWARDS.

¹ *Havelok*, ll. 686-7.

² *Golagros and Gawane* [S.T.S.], ll. 809-10.

³ *Havelok*, ll. 641-3.

⁴ *Golagros and Gawane*, l. 265.

[Mr. Edwards's last paragraph invites to a little historical profanity, a leading authority on which is Mr. Julian Sharman's *Cursory History of Swearing*. There is an excellent article in Chambers's *Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *swearing*. A fine passage occurs in the *Sieur de Joinville's Histoire de St. Louis* (ed. Wailly, 1888, sec. 687), wherein, mentioning that no one ever heard that royal saint of the thirteenth century use the name of the devil, Joinville remarked that nearly everybody else as a matter of course said ‘Que dyables y ait part!’ ‘And,’ he added, ‘it is a great abuse of language thus to appropriate to the devil either man or woman, they having been given to God from the time they are baptized.’ Commendation to the devil has exercised many minds since the days of Joinville and Louis IX. Chaucer did not forget it in the *Frere's Prologue*, and Luther (*Table Talk*, etc.) discussed the case of the man with a sad habit of saying ‘Devil take me.’ The theme was disposed of by a Scottish fifteenth century abbot (Bower's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 285). Scottish legislation also kept it well in view, as witness the Act of 1551, c. 7, framed ‘in detestatioun of the grevous and abominabill aithis, sweiring, execratiounis and blasphematioun of the name of God, sweirand in vane be his precious blude, body, passioun and woundis; Devill stick, cummer, gor, roist or ryfe thame; and sic uthers ugsume aithis.’]

The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland.

THE Scottish Sculptured Stones attracted very little attention until well into the last century. Before then only a few travellers, like Martin and Pennant, had recorded their observations.

Boswell, we know from *The Tour to the Hebrides*, was bitterly disappointed with Icolmkill, and compared its tombs most unfavourably with the marble monuments of Westminster Abbey; and if Dr. Johnson did not fully share his disappointment it was because he had been warned by Sacheverel that 'there is not much to be seen here.'

All that is changed now. The stones have to a great extent been described or illustrated and a whole literature has grown up around them. The most important of the many books is Dr. John Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, published in 1856 and 1867. But much has happened since then. Many fresh stones have been unearthed or discovered; photography has transformed the process of illustrating them, and the earnest study of some fifty years has, as might be expected, brought together a mass of new material. The time had undoubtedly come for a new book, and in *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*¹ Mr. Romilly Allen has given us one of which the value would be impossible to exaggerate.

Its history in brief is this. The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland decided in 1890 to devote the income of certain funds to the preparation of a very full report on all the Scottish Monuments previous to 1100, and to illustrate them by photographs as far as possible.

The preparation of this formidable catalogue was intrusted to

¹ *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*; a classified illustrated descriptive list of the monuments with an analysis of their symbolism and ornamentation By J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot. And an Introduction, being the Rhind Lectures for 1892, by Joseph Anderson, LL.D., H.R.S.A., Hon. M.R.I.A. Edinburgh. Quarto. Pp. cxxii., part ii., 1-419; part iii., 1-522. Printed for the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.



Cross with sculpture in relief
at Keills in Knapdale.



Back.



Front.

Upright Slab sculptured in relief at Dunfallandy.

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Mr. J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., who began his work in 1893. In the following year he published a report, which fills many pages of the Society's *Transactions*, giving a list of all the stones then known about and stating where they had already been drawn, in the works of Dr. Stuart or of James Drummond; but a very large number had to be entered as 'undescribed,' a term which can never be used again.

It is hardly necessary at this time to do more than refer in passing to what Dr. Joseph Anderson has done in the field of Scottish archaeology, where *Scotland in Early Christian Times* (his Rhind Lectures for 1881) stands alone.

No work on the subject is more widely known, without it we should oftentimes be still groping for the solution of many difficult questions, and it is to Dr. Anderson that the publication of the book before us is due.

He was again appointed Rhind Lecturer for 1892, and his lectures were designed to bear upon the forthcoming book, whereof in an abbreviated shape they form the introductory section.

There could be no better epitome of Dr. Anderson's writings on the sculptured stones than this Introduction, and the association of the two writers is most felicitous.

The second section of the book is the work of Mr. Allen and deals with the monuments themselves, analysing and describing their characteristics and indicating their geographical positions.

They are divided into three classes. Class I. (the earliest) consists of pillar stones and slabs, rudely shaped, bearing symbols traced with incised lines. In Class II. are placed all the rest of the symbol-bearing monuments, and these are invariably upright Cross slabs. The Cross usually appears on the front, the symbols on the back. These stones are sculptured in relief and with predominating Celtic patterns. Class III. contains all other stones bearing Celtic ornament, and these are of great variety, including upright free-standing Crosses, Cross-bearing slabs (both upright and recumbent), stone coffins and architectural details.

A list is given of the distribution of these three classes, showing how stones of the first class predominate in the northern and north-eastern counties, hardly appearing in the south. Those of the second class are mostly found in the east central district, while the latter or third class of non-symbol-bearing

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monuments exists all over the country from Shetland to Dumfries. Mr. Allen points out that the symbol-bearing stones are never found in barren mountain districts, but on the fertile coast lands and great river valleys, and he shows by a table, in which the counties are arranged according to their number of specimens, that stones of the first class are more frequent in the district north of the Grampians, formerly inhabited by the northern Picts, while stones of the second class predominate in the country of the southern Picts, which lay to the south of the hills; in Aberdeenshire and Forfarshire he thinks may have been the centres, whence in Pictish times these styles issued.

This triple classification is rigidly adhered to throughout the whole work with great results of simplification.

The symbols receive very full treatment and are carefully depicted: spectacle ornaments, crescents, mirrors and combs, centaurs, bulls, birds, fish, and the mysterious beast with long jaws—the so-called elephant. Then follow pages showing the various combinations of these symbols on the stones.

It is impossible to do more than touch on some of the features of this great book, but one of the most interesting and important sections is headed 'Interlaced Work.'

The writer first shows how the foundation of all Celtic interlacing is a regularly plaited groundwork and how, by making 'breaks' in this groundwork, the bands may be diverted into the most intricate knotted patterns, without losing the regularity of alternate under-and-over crossing which is so well marked a feature of Celtic work. Over six hundred diagrams are used to illustrate this phase of pattern alone. The Key pattern is treated next, and in the same way, and lastly the designs formed by combinations of spirals, old as the discoveries at Mycenae, but, in the Irish manuscripts and on the Scottish sculptured stones, developed into almost inconceivable complexity. This part of Mr. Allen's book forms both a grammar and a dictionary of Celtic ornamentation, and he has brought it into practical use in the descriptive list of the monuments which occupies the greater part of the volume. Thus, in illustrating and describing the Dunfallandy¹ Cross-slab (page 287), instead of describing each

¹ Standing Cross-slab at Dunfallandy, Perthshire. This has been illustrated here as an example of Class II., where the Cross appears on one side, the symbols on the other, for the creatures in the panels surrounding the Cross are not to be mistaken for symbols. The group in the top right-hand panel probably represents the lion breathing life into its cub, as told in the bestiaries; Jonah and the



Upright Cross-slab sculptured in relief at St. Vigean's.



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of the many decorated panels, reference is made to the diagrams already given. 'In the centre . . . a Cross of shape No. 104a, on the horizontal arms three bosses on a background of square key-pattern No. 914, on the shaft next the top, interlaced work No. 644,' and so on. It is easy to believe what a help this is: the diagram always showing clearly what the condition of the monument may render indistinct.

Probably no finer or more exhaustive catalogue has ever been compiled, and in spite of its great length it contains not an unnecessary word. This is a book of reference to which we may always turn without fear of disappointment. The illustrations are excellent and show the same care as the letterpress. The Ogham-bearing slab at Dunrobin (Fig. 48) is photographed from various points to show the inscription, and of this a diagram is also given. In cases where perhaps the photograph failed to satisfy Mr. Allen, he adds a masterly design, as in the case of the Farr Cross-slab (Fig. 51).

The book is so completely up to date as to include slabs found at St. Andrews as late as 1902, and a recently found Cross-slab at Fortingal, while since its inception the collection of sculptured stones at St. Blane's Chapel in Bute has been brought to light and is here fully described. Scotland may indeed be grateful to Mr. Romilly Allen for his magnificent contribution to her archaeological knowledge.

R. C. GRAHAM.

whale seem to be indicated in the bottom left-hand panel, and the winged figures may stand for angels. The reverse is divided into two panels; in the upper one two figures sit facing one another, above them are the following symbols: the elephant, crescent with V-shaped rod, and the double disc. Between the seated figures is a small cross, one of the few exceptions to the rule that symbols and crosses are not found together. In the lower panel the elephant and the crescent are repeated, and below the horseman there are a hammer, an anvil, and a pair of pincers.

Standing Cross at Kiells, Knapdale; an example of Class III. At the top is an angel treading on a serpent, in the centre a raised boss, round this boss are animals, and below it a saint or ecclesiastic. The shaft contains panels of key-pattern and spiral work.

A Cross-slab from St. Vigean, Forfarshire; another example of Class III., from which the symbols have disappeared. To the right of the richly-decorated Celtic Cross are seen ecclesiastics tonsured and wearing cowls, embroidered vestments, and slippers. On the right are two seated figures. Mr. Allen suggests St. Paul and St. Anthony breaking bread in the desert (as on the Cross at Ruthwell). Below this a cow (the body ornamented with spirals) and a man kneeling in front of it.

An English Letter of Gospatric

AMONG the private muniments of a nobleman in Westmorland, a letter or charter¹ of unique interest was recently recognised which throws a new light on the political and territorial history of Cumberland, and adds much to our knowledge of the district before it was conquered by William Rufus in 1092. Though the document is in English, or, to be more exact, in the Northumbrian dialect as spelt and understood by an early copyist,² it bears so many internal evidences of genuineness, both philological and topographical, that it may be regarded as of unquestionable authority. It must take a front rank among the few English charters³ which relate to the history of northern England, and owing to the impenetrable obscurity which has hitherto rested on the pre-Norman state of ancient Cumbria, it will be welcomed as a discovery of considerable importance. By its means we can compel the darkness in some measure to yield up its secret, and we are enabled to set back the domain of ascertained knowledge,

¹ The document can scarcely be called a charter according to our modern usage of that word. It appears to be a relic of the Anglo-Saxon writ, which was intended to be read before the county court in order to secure the grantee in the enjoyment of the estate or privilege by making it known to the suitors and all concerned. Mr. W. H. Stevenson has found traces of the existence of these writs in English up to the beginning of the reign of Henry II., but from the time of the Conquest they were usually put into Latin, and the Latin versions are much the more numerous.

² The deed at Lowther Castle is not, of course, the original, but an early copy on a strip of parchment wonderfully well preserved. From the character of the script, notably from the formation of the capitals which seem to have been an invention of the copyist, the copy may be ascribed to the thirteenth century. In the opinion of the best judges, the fact that the charter is in English is a presumption against its being spurious, for after the Norman Conquest one would expect a forger to draw up his texts in Latin.

³ Mr. William Brown informs me that the English charters in the *Liber Albus* at York have not been printed; he believes that they are interesting chiefly as specimens of language.

imperfect though it be, for a period of at least half a century. As the grantor was no less a personage than the famous Gospatric son of Maldred son of Crinan, who was so closely allied to the royal line of Scotland, and as this is the only charter of his known to be extant, the document, though exclusively connected with what is now an English county, cannot fail to be interesting to students of Scottish history.

Until the discovery of Gospatric's writ we could not get behind the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Dolfin was ruler of Carlisle at the date of the Norman conquest in 1092, and we possessed no trustworthy evidence about the tenure or tenants of the district, except what might be gathered from the great Inquest of Fees in 1212, a feudal transaction which we were compelled to accept, in the absence of the Domesday Survey, as the foundation of the territorial history of Cumberland. What was stated by me a short time ago¹ cannot now be upheld, that 'at the present moment not a single genuine charter, relating to the county of Cumberland, is known of a date anterior to Henry I.' The date of this charter may be assigned to some period before the conquest of 1092, but perhaps after 1067 when Gospatric purchased the earldom of Northumberland from William the Conqueror, or more probably after 1072, when King Malcolm of Scotland gave him Dunbar and the adjacent lands in Lothian.

It may be inferred from the general tenor of the document that Gospatric held a high position in the district beyond that of a great landowner, for it is most improbable that he should have used such a style of address to the men of Cumbria had he been only the lord of Allerdale. Subsequent events, such as the position of his son Dolfin at Carlisle in 1092, and the succession of Waldeve to the paternal estates in Allerdale, appear to warrant the belief that Gospatric ruled the district of Cumbria south of the Solway as the deputy of King Malcolm. On the other hand, as no allusion is made to Scottish sovereignty, and as Gospatric appeals to the palmy days of Eadread and to the laws of Earl Siward, the exact position of the grantor is thrown into the arena of debate. In many respects these references suggest startling difficulties in their relation to the political status of south Cumbria at this period. It would be rash, within the limits of a short note, to make positive statements on the identity of Eadread or the jurisdic-

¹ *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 302.

tion of Earl Siward of Northumberland over the north-western province. But there can be no question that our old notions, founded on the cession of Cumbria to Malcolm I. by King Eadmund in 945 as a fief of the English Crown, have received a rude shock by the revelations of this charter, and that we shall be driven once again to review the evidences, on which we were accustomed to rely, in support of the favourite theory that the cession to the King of Scotland continued in effective operation till Dolfin, who by the way is nowhere stated to have been a Scottish vassal, was forced to retire before the invading host of the Red King.

The chief interest, however, of the charter to the student of the Norman settlement of Cumberland is the delightful commentary it affords in explanation of the Inquest of Service¹ of 1212. It will be seen that there is nothing in the charter inconsistent with the statements of the Inquest, but it has rendered necessary a fresh interpretation of that document. Hitherto we have accepted the verdict of the jurors that Henry I. was the original source of enfeoffment of most of the knights of Cumberland in their fees as stated therein. From the language of the Inquest no other inference was possible, chiefly for the reason that enfeoffments by the King were carefully differentiated from those by Ranulf Meschin, the Norman lord who ruled Cumberland before Henry took the district into his own hand about 1120. Gospatric's charter, in which he is described as the owner of Allerdale, makes it quite clear that the infeudation was not originated by Henry I., but that the jurors of 1212 ignored all previous possession by Gospatric the father, and looked upon the King's confirmation of Waldeve the son, in the fee of Allerdale, as the source of his title.² In another instance it is highly probable that we can prove a similar method. The jurors stated that it was Henry who gave the barony of Greystoke to Forne, the son of Siolf

¹ *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 379-80, Record Commission. The inquest has been printed in the *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 421-2, from the original return in the Public Record Office, officially described as *Knights' Fees*, $\frac{1}{2}$, m. 2.

² It is very odd that Dolfin should have been banished from Carlisle when his brother Waldeve was able to retain possession of Allerdale. Political reasons, it would seem, were the cause of the different treatment of Gospatric's sons. It is said that Ranulf Meschin gained Waldeve 'as an ally on account of the war between the Scots and England, as he was a Scotsman, and gave him for his service the whole barony of Allerdale, from the place called Wahtelpole as far as Derwent, saving to himself all his venison' (Bain, *Calendar of Documents*, ii. 64).

or Sigulf. From the mention of the name of Sigulf as one of the magnates of Cumbria 'in Eadread's days,' it may not be too hazardous to suggest that he was the owner of Greystoke before he was succeeded by his son Forne, to whom Henry I. in after years confirmed the barony. In these circumstances it would appear that the literal interpretation of the feudal inquest cannot be defended, and that the old theory of a wholesale displacement of the English settlers to make way for the Norman immigration has been completely overthrown.

As the charter is bristling with points of unusual interest, it has been thought advisable to print it in full together with a rough translation. Students of early English will welcome the copy of the text for the pleasure it will afford them in tracing the difficulties the copyist experienced in spelling and pronouncing the Northumbrian dialect. Though I am alone responsible for the translation, as well as the text, it should be mentioned that I have been largely guided in many places by the suggestions of Canon Greenwell, Professor Skeat, Mr. W. H. Stevenson, and other distinguished scholars. Upon my shoulders only must fall the penalties for faults of rendering or errors of interpretation.

JAMES WILSON.

[Text and Translation of Charter.

E

TEXT OF CHARTER

Gospatrik greot¹ ealle mine wassenas² & hyylkun mann, freo & ðreng,³ þeo woonnan on eallun þam landann þeo weoron Combres⁴ & eallun mine kynling⁵ freondlycc; & ic cyðe eoy⁶ þ myne mynna is & full leof⁷ þ Thorfynn Mac Thore beo swa freo on eallan ðynges þeo beo myne on Alnerdall swa ænyg mann beo, oðer ic oðer ænyg myne wassenas, on weald,

¹ The rapid transition from the third person to the first in Gospatric's mode of address is common and idiomatic. Compare the letter of Ælfhryth to Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and that of Wulfstan, archbishop of York, to King Cnut, for the identical phraseology of our charter (Thorpe, *Diplomatarium*, pp. 295, 313).

² This is a rare word and is used thrice in the writ. It cannot be Norman for vassals, for 'vassal' was not adopted into English at this date. It is apparently British, a form of the Welsh 'gwassan,' a dependant or retainer, but it is from the same Celtic root as the Frankish 'vassallus.' Professor Liebermann of Berlin ingeniously suggests that 'wassenas' is a scribal error for 'thegnas,' the copyist having been misled by 'vassalli.'

³ Tenure by drengage was well known in Cumberland and Westmorland in the twelfth century. For instances of enfranchisement of the dreng in these counties, see *Victoria History of Cumberland*, i. 332-3. Mr. W. H. Stevenson remarks on the contrast between the 'freeman' and the 'dreng,' for the latter could scarcely be described as unfree. Upon this point the explanation of Canon Greenwell in *Boldon Buke* (Surtees Society) and the article of Professor Maitland in the *English Historical Review*, vol. v., should be consulted.

⁴ My translation of this word is apt to provoke contradiction. The best authorities seem to be agreed that it is the genitive case of a personal name, such as Cumbra, Combor, or Combre, the same, for instance, from which Cummersdale, a vill on the Caldew between Dalston and Carlisle, is supposed to derive its name. Canon Greenwell is not out of sympathy with my suggestion that the word refers to a people and not to an individual. Ethelwerd, in his account of the Danish invasion in 875, seems to have been the first among the chroniclers to apply the designation of 'Cumbri' to the inhabitants of this region. The same people are described as Strathclyde Britons by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Asser, and Florence of Worcester (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* i. 355, 478, 515, 558). Geoffrey Gaimar uses 'Combreis,' almost the very designation in the charter, for the 'Cumbri' of Ethelwerd (*Ibid.* i. 764, 808, 814). It is evident that 'Cumbri' or 'Combreis' was not fully established in general usage as the name of the people in Gospatric's time. This may in a measure account for the strange phrase about 'the lands that were Comber's.' For many reasons it is concluded that the 'Commbris' of the charter refers to the people of Cumbria or Cumberland.

⁵ For the use of this word, which is of very rare occurrence, the reader may be referred to the alleged charter of Edward the Confessor printed by Kemble (*Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. iv. 236).

⁶ Miswritten for *eow*.

⁷ Parenthetical.

TRANSLATION

Gospatrik greets all my dependants and each man, free and dreng, that dwell in all the lands of the Cumbrians, and all my kindred friendlily; and I make known to you that my mind and full leave is that Thorfynn¹ Mac² Thore be as free in all things that are mine in Alnerdall³ as any man is, whether I or any of my dependants, in wood, in heath, in enclosures, and as to all things that are existing on the earth and under it, at Shauk and at Wafyr and at Pollwathoen⁴ and at bek Troyte⁵ and the wood at Caldebek⁶; and I desire that the men abiding with Thorfynn at Cartheu and Combetheyfoch⁷ be as free with him as Melmor⁸ and Thore⁹ and Sygulf were in

¹ A personal name not uncommon in Cumberland in the twelfth century. In the Chartulary of St. Bees, 'Thorfinsacre' is named as a plot of land. The parish of Torpenhow is written 'Thorphinhow' in some early deeds. The hill overlooking the village of Thursby is still known as 'Torkin' probably from this person.

² This word for 'son' is extremely rare in local evidences. We have Gospatric Mapbennoc, that is, 'Mac Bennoc,' in the Pipe Roll of Cumberland for 1158: his name appears in the Roll of 1163 as 'Gospatric fil. Beloc.'

³ The great district of Allerdale situated on the western seaboard between the Wampool and the Derwent, so called perhaps because it was traversed by the river Alne or Ellen. Near its mouth is the vill of Alneburg or Ellenborough. The etymology is sometimes taken as if it were 'Alder'-dale, through the French *alne* or *aune*.

⁴ Shauk, Waver and Wampool, three streams well known as boundaries of Allerdale on the north and north-east. The Wampool is usually found in early evidences as Wathunpol which is much the same form as that in this charter.

⁵ Troutbeck is a common name for a small stream in northern England. The particular stream here indicated has not been identified with certainty. It is very doubtful whether Allerdale ever touched the Troutbeck which lies between Keswick and Penrith. More probably it was a tributary of the Caldew.

⁶ Caldbeck, a parish forming the eastern limit of Allerdale.

⁷ Cardew and Cumdivock, two vills in the parish of Dalston, separated from Allerdale by the water of Shauk and lying over against Thursby.

⁸ Probably the owner from whom the parish of Melmerby in the east of Cumberland took its name.

⁹ Apparently the same person as the father of Thorfynn above mentioned, who gave his name to Thursby or Thoresby as the parish was called in the twelfth century. There is a legend that the place took its name from a temple which is said to have existed there in the time of paganism and to have been dedicated to the heathen god Thor. The origin of this story has been ascribed to Everard, the first abbot of Holmcultram (*Thoresby's Correspondence*, i. 318-9).

TEXT OF CHARTER—*continued*

on freyð,¹ on heyninga² & æt ællun ðyngan, þeo bȳ eorðe bænand³ & ðeoronðer, to Shauk, to Wafyr, to poll Waðæn, to bek Troyte & þeo weald æt Caldebek; & ic wille ꝥ þeo mann byðann⁴ mið Thorfynn æt Carðeu & Combeðeyfoch beo swa freals myð hem swa Melmor & Thore & Sygoolf⁵ weoron on Eadread dagan, & ne beo neann mann swa ðeorif,⁶ þehat⁷ mið ꝥ ic heobbe gegyfen to hem, ne ghar brech⁸ seo gyrth ðyylc Eorl Syward & ic hebbe getyðet hem cefrelycc swa ænyg mann leofand þeo Welkynn ðeoronðer; & loc hyylkun bȳ þar byðann geyldfreo beo swa ic bȳ, & swa willann Wallðeof & Wygande & Wyberth & Gamell & Kūyth & eallun mine kynling & wassenas; & ic wille ꝥ Thorfynn heobbe soc & sac, toll & theam, ofer eallun þam landan on Carðeu & on Combeðeyfoch ꝥ weoron gyfene Thore on Moryn dagan freols myd bode & wytnesmann on þyylk stow.

¹ Frith, a coppice, plantation (*New Eng. Dict.*).

² Hinning, not rare as a place name in the county: heyning, heining, from the Scandinavian hegna, to enclose (*Eng. Dial. Dict.*).

³ Dr. Skeat has detected three errors in this word: *eorðe* for *eorð*; *æ=oo=u* (here long): and *n* for *u=w*. It should be *eorð-būand*, the Northumbrian present participle, and means 'things on the earth and things under the earth,' *i.e.* minerals.

⁴ Error for *byðand*, present participle. It thus makes sense.

⁵ In writing this name the Norman scribe has revealed himself. It is really *oo*, two *o*'s made close together, denoting the A.S. short *ū*, as in 'full.' The same symbol occurs in *woonnan=wunan* in A.S. Another Norman symbol for the same sound was *\X/=uu*. Thus does Dr. Skeat interpret the scribe's method.

⁶ The *i* in this word is nothing but the trill or burr of the rolled *r*, for *ðeorf*, *i.e.* *ðearf*, bold, a Northumbrian word.

⁷ Dr. Skeat points out an error here for *þat*. As written the word would mean 'who commands' or 'who promises' which won't fit in.

⁸ Mr. Stevenson thinks that the text here is hopelessly corrupt, and suggests that the copyist must have omitted a line or a clause. The meaning of the passage is very obscure.

TRANSLATION—continued

Eadread's days, and that (there) be no man so bold that he—with what I have given to him—cause to break the peace such as Earl Syward and I have granted to them for ever as any man living under the sky; and whosoever is there abiding, let him be geld free as I am and in like manner as Walltheof¹ and Wygande² and Wyberth³ and Gamell⁴ and Kunyth⁵ and all my kindred and dependants; and I will that Thorfyynn have soc and sac, toll and theam over all the lands of Cartheu and Combetheyfoch that were given to Thore in Moryn's⁶ days free, with bode and witnessman⁷ in the same place.

¹ Perhaps Waldeve son of Gospatric, subsequently the owner of Allerdale.

² Probably the owner of Wiggonby, a vill to the north-west of Thursby in the parish of Aikton near the Wampool.

³ Not identified unless he was the owner of Waberthwaite, formerly Wyberthwaite, a small parish in the lordship of Millom, which was within the portion of ancient Cumbria surveyed under Yorkshire in Domesday as part of the possessions of Earl Tostig.

⁴ Perhaps the owner of Gamelsby, a vill on the Wampool in the parish of Aikton. It is almost certain that another Gamel, the son of Bern, who lived somewhat later, bequeathed his name to Gamelsby in Leath Ward. It is very striking that we should have the names of Thore, Wygande, and Gamell embodied in a group of places close to the Wampool.

⁵ The reading of the script here is somewhat doubtful owing to the condition of the ink. The name may be intended for some form of the uncertain Celtic or Pictish name Kenneth, which appears in Symeon of Durham under 774 as 'Cynoht.'

⁶ The owner of the district of Dalston, of which Cardew and Cumdivock are parcels. Dalston was afterwards forfeited by Hervey son of Morin: was an escheat in the hand of Henry II.: and was granted to the See of Carlisle by Henry III. The evidence of this charter goes a long way to prove that the land of the 'Combreis' was not split up into parishes 'in Moryn's days.'

⁷ The services of 'bode and wytnesmann' were well known institutions in the early history of Cumberland. In 1292 John de Hodelston excused the monks of Furness of suit at his court of Millom, of pannage and puture, and of 'bode and wytnesman' for ever, which services were formerly claimed from them in respect of their land of Brotherulkill in Coupland (*Duchy of Lancaster Charter*, Box B, No. 155). Opinions differ on the exact nature of these institutions.

On the Influence of John Lyly

THE first collected edition of the works of John Lyly¹ is so good that one wishes it were better. Good, we must pronounce it to be, after all possible fault finding. Mr. Bond has devoted to it more than four years of continuous and exclusive study, much of that time having been spent, as he tells us, 'half voluntarily'—'in mere collation, in search too often resultless, in the finding, noting, and numbering of a host of cross references.' The surprising thing is to find him characterising by the borrowed epithet 'stupid industry' an all-important part of his task, as if it were merely of secondary importance. Such appreciation of his own performance seems greatly at fault, for most readers, I believe, will consider the painstaking collation of the early editions of *Euphues* and the equally careful revision of the text of the Court comedies as far and away the most praiseworthy achievement of the editor, the one thing indeed, if the excellent bibliographies be reckoned as corollary, that may confidently be spoken of as possessing real permanent value. In saying that, I am far from wishing to depreciate the chapters of purely literary criticism written with such evident enthusiasm for the subject. They contain, however, a good deal that one would like to see modified, and for that reason are not entitled to unreserved commendation.

A principal aim of the editor has been to show the extent of Lyly's influence on his contemporaries, particularly Shakespeare. He presents Lyly to us as an author 'of immense importance to English literature'; as 'Shakespeare's chief master and exemplar'; as 'the herald of an epoch, the master of the king'; as the writer 'who first taught Bacon and Shakespeare to assimilate the fine material' of the

¹ *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, now for the first time collected and edited from the earliest Quartos, with Life, Bibliography, Essays, Notes, and Index: by R. Warwick Bond, M.A. 3 vols. Demy 8vo. Vol. i. pp. xvi, 543; ii. pp. iv, 574; iii. pp. iv, 620, with 3 full page plates. Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1902.

Greek and Latin classics. The thesis is exceedingly readable, but that is the most that can be said : it is quite unconvincing, and often greatly irritating owing to its high-pitched estimates and blind partisanship. Few, I imagine, will be prepared to allow that the ancient classic inspiration was brought into English literature by the Euphuist. A Shakespearean flash—'All Penelope's spinning did but fill Ithaca full of moths'—has in it more of the 'digestive imitation' desiderated by Sidney than is to be found in the entire works of John Lyly. It is preposterous to assert, as Mr. Bond does, that Lyly was 'almost the first Englishman into whose mind the philosophy of the ancients had sunk with fructifying power for English letters'; or that a dull passionless play like *Campaspe* 'set Shakespeare the example of drawing on North's *Plutarch* for historical matter and Ben Jonson the example of making verbal transcripts from the classics.' After carefully reading the essay *Lyly as a Playwright* along with the plays, I confess my inability to see the slightest warrant for the statement that 'far more dramatic credit is due and far more influence on Shakespeare attributable to Lyly than to Marlowe or any other of those with whom he has been customarily classed.' Equally groundless is the assertion—'There is no play before Lyly. He made eight; and immediately thereafter England produced some hundreds.' What about the 52 plays, now unfortunately lost, produced between 1568-80, recorded in the Accounts of the Revels at Court? Nearly a score of these, as the titles show, were borrowed from ancient history, the bulk of them written when Lyly was a child. For the history of the English drama, the eight plays are admittedly important as documents, but certainly not of 'immense importance' as Mr. Bond would have us believe. Lyly's fame, such as it is, rests not on any dramatic writings but on *Euphues*, almost the most insipid book in the language—its tedious moralisings one long painful labour 'to be delivered of the great burden of nothing.'

It may not be easy to track euphuism to its source; origins generally are obscure; but certain it is that the seed, out of which it grew, was in the ground long before 1578. We see it in the blade in More's *History of Edward V.*; and in the ear, if not yet the full ear, in a letter, of date 1552, of the Princess Elizabeth to her brother Edward VI., accompanying her portrait: 'My picture I mean: in which if the inward good mind toward your Grace might as well be declared as the outward face and

countenance shall be seen, I would not have tarried the commandment, but prevented it, nor have been the last to grant but the first to offer it. . . . Of this also yet the proof could not be great, because the occasions have been so small: notwithstanding, as a dog hath a day, so may I perchance have time to declare it in deeds, which now I do write them but in words.' What more natural than that maids-of-honour and courtiers of Cynthia should catch from her the epidemical infection? The 'new English' of the Court fascinated George Pettie, an obscure writer, whose *Pallace of Pleasure*, published in 1576, was, only two years later, chosen by Lyly as his chief exemplar—'a complete model of style which he followed with hardly any, if any, addition,' occasionally even appropriating whole sentences from it 'with scarce any change of substance.' No doubt he went slightly beyond Pettie in elaborating the tricks of the style—the 'duplicating, triplicating or multiplying habit,' arising, as Mr. Bond well observes, 'from an unusual activity and alertness in the composing brain which continually thrusts upon the writer parallel or opposed instances and parallel forms of expression. . . . To a sentence, a clause, an epithet, an adjectival or adverbial phrase, just written, he constantly adds a second, a third, and sometimes many more, of an almost or exactly parallel structure, indulging the multiplying habit according as his fancy or memory happens to be fertile or restricted in its momentary direction. . . . His elaborate sentences simply grew under the guidance of the *general* habit indicated, working fitfully, as the preference and mental upthrow of the moment dictated, and were polished afterwards into a regularity always limited by the freedom of their first appearance.' Mr. Bond's note on *Sentence Structure in Euphues* is excellent, but Shakespeare, it seems to me, has anticipated it in a speech of Holofernes, where that droll—facile in alliteration and antithesis—describes his 'gift' as 'a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourished in the womb of *pia mater*, and delivered upon the mellowing of occasion. But the gift is good in those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it.' As the high priest of the cult Lyly soon became the target of the Areopagites and their immediate followers, so obtaining notoriety—fame of a kind. He was ridiculed by Sidney in *Astrophel and Stella*, by Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Holofernes¹ and Fastidious Brisk are contemporary portraits of 'the Vice Master of Poules, the Foolemaster of the Theater,' as Gabriel Harvey, Spenser's friend, sarcastically designated Lyly. Adulatory lines in Meres and other minor writers count for little against weighty condemnation by scholars like Sidney, Shakespeare, Jonson, and Drayton, count indeed as nothing. As the Martin Tupper of his time, Lyly enjoyed for a brief space a popularity, but his influence, direct or indirect, was inconsiderable; certainly not what Mr. Bond alleges—'as setting an example of consistent attention to form and aim at force and precision, probably greater than that of any other writer our literature has known.' Before the seventeenth century had dawned, as Blount, Lyly's panegyrist, tells us, the plays 'lay like dead laurels in a churchyard'; the present-day protagonist as frankly admits that direct influence of *Euphues* cannot be traced 'beyond the beginning' of that century. But even if we grant, which we must up to a point, that euphuism did something for the improvement of English prose, it surely is a mistake to give all the glory to John Lyly.

It is regrettable that Pettie's *Pallace of Pleasure* was not printed by Mr. Bond, as an appendix, instead of the *Entertainments* and *Doubtful Poems* which together make up nearly one of the three volumes. Professor Littledale has elsewhere demonstrated that many of the poems are by other pens; and for ought that one can see, Lyly's claim, as well to the *Entertainments* as the *Poems*, is slender in the extreme; far too slender to justify their inclusion in a critical edition of his collected works.

But greatly as Mr. Bond's partiality detracts from his literary judgments, it is but fair to acknowledge the exceeding value of much of his editorial work. Everywhere he displays intimate acquaintance with the literature of his subject and conspicuous fairness in the marshalling of facts, as well as in the presentment of the side other than the one he himself espouses, qualities which cannot be too highly praised. For pre-Shakespearean study the book is almost indispensable.

J. T. T. BROWN.

¹ It used sometimes to be said that John Florio was the original of Holofernes, but that is no longer believed by Shakespearean critics: *vide* Saintsbury's *Introduction* to Montaigne (Tudor Translations) and Sidney Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*. Probably we should see in Rombus, the Schoolmaster, in *Her Most Excellent Majestie Walking in Wansteed Garden*, Sidney's portrait of Lyly. I agree with Mr. Bond in thinking that Harvey's words indicate that Lyly was a schoolmaster.

Treasure Trove

IN connection with the case of the Prehistoric Gold Ornaments recently discovered in Ireland, the subject of Treasure Trove has come so prominently before the public that a brief statement of the facts and circumstances of the case, and of the Law and Practice in England, Ireland, and Scotland respectively, may not be without interest.

In 1896 a ploughman subsoiling a piece of ground on the townland of Broighter, near Limavady, in the county of Londonderry, Ireland, turned up a number of gold ornaments. He disposed of them to a second party, who sold them to a jeweller in Belfast, from whom they were purchased by Mr. Robert Day, a well-known collector of antiquities resident in Cork. Mr. Day communicated the information that he was in possession of the 'find' to Mr. Read, the keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, who is also Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Through Mr. Read's agency, the ornaments were exhibited to a meeting of the Society on 14th January, 1897; and a report of the meeting, with a succinct account of the objects exhibited, was published in the *Athenaeum*. Mr. Day having consented to dispose of the whole of the gold ornaments to the British Museum for the sum of £600, they were purchased by the Trustees, on Mr. Read's recommendation, at that price. The 'find,' which Mr. Read regarded as probably the most important that has ever been made of objects of the Late-Celtic period, consisted of the following articles:

A collar $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, formed of a hollow cylinder, elaborately ornamented in the distinctive style of the period; a model of a boat $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, with nine thwarts, and models of its appurtenances—15 oars, a steering oar or rudder, a yard for the mast, a grapnel, a boat-hook, and three forked spars; a bowl $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, with four side-rings at the rim for suspension; a

chain $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, formed of three strands of interlocked quadruple links of fine wire, with a solid pin-lock fastening at the ends; another chain $16\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length, formed of a complicated plait-work of eight wires, with a fastening at the ends on the same principle as the other chain; a torc or necklet 5 inches in diameter, formed of thick twisted wires, with a strand of thin wire twisted and wound spirally round with the others. A portion of a second torc of similar character was also present.

The total weight exceeded 12 oz., and Dr. Atkinson, in his evidence before the Commission, stated that from £70 to £80 would have been about the bullion value.

Mr. A. J. Evans, who wrote the description of the objects published by the Society of Antiquaries of London in the 55th volume of *Archaeologia*, concludes that 'the treasure (as the recorded circumstances of the find indicate) was deposited at the same place and time, probably in the first century of our era,' and that, 'there can be little doubt that it was a thank-offering dedicated, by some ancient Irish sea-king who had escaped the perils of the waves, to a marine divinity.' On the other hand, Mr. Cochrane, writing in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, has advanced the suggestion that Broighter was probably the landing place of St. Columba and Aedan, King of the Dalriad Scots, after a perilous passage on their way to attend the famous Convention of Drumceat, and that these objects may have been a thank-offering by them to the neighbouring church. But these conjectures are of little consequence in comparison with the facts, which are sufficient to invest the objects with an archaeological interest of the highest order in connection with the investigation of the early civilization and art of Ireland.

This being so, it was natural that the Royal Irish Academy, to which the Government has committed the acquisition of objects of Treasure Trove in Ireland on behalf of the National Collection of Antiquities in the Dublin Museum, should disapprove of the transference of this unique treasure from Ireland to London, and resolve to vindicate their rights with regard to objects of Treasure Trove in Ireland. If these could be trafficked in for private profit, and sold out of the country, to the detriment of the National Collection of Antiquities, the function of the Academy with respect to the Treasure Trove of the country would be absolutely defeated. In his evidence before

the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Lords Commissioners of H.M. Treasury, Dr. Atkinson, the Secretary of the Academy, stated that in his opinion the articles were *prima facie* Treasure Trove, and therefore they had been trafficked in illegally. When Mr. W. Redmond raised the question in the House of Commons on the vote for the British Museum, the Prime Minister stated that he was aware that there was a strong feeling in Ireland among all classes with regard to the subject; that the Law-officers both of England and Ireland had come to the conclusion that these Irish gold ornaments were Treasure Trove belonging to the Crown; that the person who found [or possessed] them had no right to sell them to the British Museum, and that the British Museum was not now the legal owner of the ornaments. He believed that the Trustees of the British Museum were not prepared to accept the verdict of the Law-officers of England and Ireland, and if there was no other way of settling the matter it would have to go before a Court of Law.

Ultimately, the Attorney General brought a claim against the Trustees of the British Museum for delivery of the ornaments in their possession, which were alleged to be Treasure Trove, belonging to the King in virtue of his prerogative and right of the Crown. The case was tried before Mr. Justice Farwell in the Chancery Division of the High Court in June last.¹ The question submitted for decision of the Court was whether these articles were to be considered Treasure Trove. The legal definition of Treasure Trove, according to Coke, is: 'Gold or silver in coin, plate, or bullion, which hath been of ancient time hidden, wheresoever it be found, whereof no person can prove any property.' The case for the Crown was that the circumstances in which these ornaments were found, buried all together within a space of 9 inches, and about 16 inches under the surface of the ground, indicated that they had been hidden, and were consequently Treasure Trove. The defence for the British Museum was that this was not a case of treasure concealed with a view to its possession being resumed, but that it was a votive offering to a sea-god, the articles having been thrown into the water at a time when the raised beach in the subsoil of which they were found was still the sea-bottom, and that therefore they

¹ Attorney-General v. Trustees of British Museum, June, 1903. A report of the trial appears in *The Times Law Reports*, XIX., p. 555.

were not Treasure Trove. There was also an alternative plea for the defence, that if they were Treasure Trove, the Treasure Trove of this part of Ireland had passed from the Crown by a Charter of James I., and now belonged to the Fishmongers' Company, who had passed their rights to the Trustees of the British Museum. No proof was led on this alternative plea, however, the Attorney General maintaining that the right of Treasure Trove belonging to the class of *jura regalia* could not pass from the Crown as suggested. Evidence of the facts and circumstances of the finding of the treasure was followed by a hearing of nearly two days' duration of expert evidence for and against the theory of the defence, in the course of which Justice Farwell more than once indicated his desire to hear some evidence as to the existence in this district of Ireland of a water-deity to whom it was customary to make offerings in this manner. The testimony to the custom of votive offerings in general, or in other parts of the world, did not help very much; and Dr. Munro, Mr. Coffey, and Mr. Cochrane were agreed in their testimony to the entire absence of evidence as to votive offerings in Ireland. Notwithstanding the ingenuity of the defence, the Judge found that it was not upheld by the evidence, and decided that the articles were Treasure Trove belonging to His Majesty the King by virtue of the prerogative Royal. They were accordingly ordered to be delivered to the Crown Authorities by the Trustees of the British Museum, and have since been presented to the Irish National Museum by His Majesty the King.

It has been stated that the total cost of the legal proceedings was £3114, and that the Treasury paid the taxed costs of the British Museum Trustees as defendants, amounting to £1486 12s. As previously stated, the British Museum had paid £600 as the purchase price of the articles to Mr. Day.

The last analogous case of a find of gold ornaments in England was a more unfortunate one for the parties concerned. In 1863 a ploughman at Mountfield, near Hastings, turned up a hoard of gold ornaments, including a number of penannular armlets with trumpet-shaped ends, and a gold torc about a yard in length. He kept them in his master's stable for some days, neither he nor his master having any idea of their value. After several unsuccessful attempts to dispose

of them, he sold them as old brass for 6d. a pound, the metal weighing eleven pounds. The two parties who were partners in the purchase, having some suspicion of its value, offered one of the pieces to a jeweller in Hastings, and received for it the unexpected sum of £18. They then took the rest to London and sold it to a gold-refiner for £529. Meanwhile the rumour of the discovery had got abroad, and the Lord of the Manor laid claim to the find. An inquest was held, at which his claim was negatived and that of the Crown substantiated, but unhappily the treasure had gone to the melting-pot. In these circumstances the authorities resolved to prosecute the two parties who had bought it from the ploughman and sold it to the gold-melter. They were tried at the next assizes, and found guilty of the crime of concealing Treasure Trove, and dealing with it to their own advantage. The case was appealed, but the conviction was affirmed, and the culprits condemned to pay each a fine of £265, and to be imprisoned until the same was paid.¹

From these and other cases which might be cited, it is clear that Treasure Trove cannot be legally bought, sold, or possessed by any private individual, or any public institution, or even by a National Museum, unless it has first been surrendered for disposal at the will of the Crown.

In England and Ireland the law is the same, although there are differences as regards the details of the administration. In Scotland, under Scots Law, the prerogative of the Crown takes a much wider scope, resting, as it does, on the common law maxim, *Quod nullius est, fit Domini Regis*. Thus there is no limitation to the precious metals, or to 'treasure that hath been of ancient time hidden,' as in English law. Hence the practice in Scotland has been to claim for the Crown many varieties of ancient objects which in England or Ireland would not come under the operation of the law of Treasure Trove.

In practice, however, the Crown does not seek to apply the law irrespective of the general interest of the public in the preservation and beneficial use of such objects of antiquity as may fall within the Royal prerogative. Nor does it seek to vindicate its right to their possession without regard to the interests of the finders. Indeed, the finder is the only person recognised as having an *ex gratia* claim to be considered in the matter, as will

¹ Regina v. Silas Thomas and Stephen Willett, 1863. For report of the trial, see Leigh and Cavendish's *Crown Cases Reserved* (1866), p. 313.

be seen from the following circular issued by the late Queen's Remembrancer, and still in force :

'The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury having been pleased to authorise the payment to finders of ancient coins, gold or silver ornaments, or other relics of antiquity in Scotland, of the actual value of the articles on the same being delivered up for behoof of the Crown, I now give notice to all persons who shall hereafter make discoveries of any such articles, that on their delivering them up on behalf of the Crown to the Sheriffs of the respective counties in which the discoveries may take place, they will receive, through this department, rewards equal in amount to the full intrinsic value of the articles.'

Dr. John Stuart, a former Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, reported favourably of the arrangements for the administration of the law in Scotland. The Crown being represented in each county by the Sheriff, and the Procurator Fiscal and the whole of the rural constabulary having instructions how to act, in any case where the rumour emerges the constable inquires into the circumstances, obtains the relics, and lodges them with the Procurator Fiscal, who transmits them to the office of the Exchequer in Edinburgh. The Society of Antiquaries is then communicated with as to the valuation of the objects, and practically fixes the remuneration to the finder, stating at the same time whether the objects are required for the National Museum. If they are so required, the valuation is made at the full value, and the objects are retained and paid for by the Exchequer, to be surcharged upon the grant for purchases to the Museum. If they are not required they are returned to the finder to be disposed of as he chooses. In this way the National Museum has received many relics in the precious metals, as well as other antiquities of various kinds and of great archaeological importance, many of which otherwise would have been in all probability lost to science. In a more recent report to the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Secretaries have discussed the operation of the law in greater detail, pointing out that one of the principal obstacles to the effective working of the system of administration is the insuperable dislike of the finders to the employment of the police for the recovery of the articles found. The finders are usually ignorant of the law, and ignorant also of the liberal manner in which they would be dealt with by the authorities on the voluntary surrender of their finds.

This ignorance, coupled with the prejudice against the interference of the police, not only prompts them to concealment, but induces them often to part with the objects found for very much less than their actual value, which they would receive from the Crown authorities.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

Reviews of Books

SCOTLAND, HISTORIC AND ROMANTIC. By M. Hornor Lansdale. Pp. xxxi, 581, with Portraits and Maps. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume of nearly 600 pages appears to have been suggested by a tour made by three American sisters, for the purpose of seeing with their own eyes the scenes of historic interest which had become familiar to them in the literature of the country. One of them afterwards set herself to record what they had seen, not, however, in a personal narrative of travel, but in a simple matter-of-fact digest of all that had most interested them in the course of their journeys. Writing for an American public she very properly thought it her duty to repeat many a well-known anecdote and legend, but she had made her reading wide enough to enable her to introduce also mention of events and personages which, even to the average Scot, are not as familiar as they should be. Her book was published in the United States two years ago. The present edition of it, revised and partly re-written, has been prepared for the use of readers in Scotland.

The volume makes no pretension to be an original contribution to Scottish history. But the authoress, fascinated by the romantic associations of the country, has evidently read with great diligence and has endeavoured to select and arrange some of the more interesting memories that cling to the old towns, the ruined abbeys, the mouldering castles, the crumbling keeps and the battlefields all over the kingdom. These materials she has grouped topographically by counties—perhaps the most convenient arrangement for the tourist. In her selection of incidents, however, she seems to have had regard rather to their romantic attractions than to their chronological sequence or sometimes even to their historical credibility. An obvious objection to her arrangement is met by her with a chronological table of the most important events in her narrative and a genealogical chart of the Scottish sovereigns from the year 1005 down to the present time. Her enthusiasm disarms criticism. She may be congratulated on having produced a very readable book, which can hardly fail to awaken in the minds of readers abroad a lively appreciation of the sources from which the romance of Scotland springs. In this new edition, Scottish readers, to whom it more directly appeals, will be pleased to recognise this tribute to the glamour of their native land, and will find in it not a little information which to many of them will be fresh. The book is not too large to find a corner in a travelling bag, as an interesting companion to the tourist. It is well illustrated with maps and portraits of historical personages.

ARCHIBALD GEIKIE.

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, VOLS. I. AND II. (TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1689).
By P. Hume Brown. Vol. I. pp. xix. 408 and 7 Maps; Vol. II.
pp. xv, 464 and 4 Maps. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1902.
6s. each.

THOSE two volumes sketch the history of Scotland from the Roman occupation to the Revolution of 1689. Necessarily they give hardly more than the mere outline of the main events and movements, little room being left for justifying particular views or conclusions. For some of the earlier chapters the works of previous historians—especially Dr. Skene—could be utilized, and the wars of independence have been adequately dealt with by various writers; but from the fourteenth century onwards a great variety of new information has within recent years been brought to light, and when you come to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the *embarras des richesses* of materials becomes almost overwhelming. The task of Professor Hume Brown was thus exceptionally difficult, and what he has actually set down in these two volumes conveys to the cursory reader but a faint idea of the labour they have cost him.

In some respects it would have been easier to have written a work ten times its size, for, especially in the later periods, a clear, unbiassed, and properly proportioned narrative in condensed form can best be attained by the thorough and minute comprehension obtainable by the necessity of constructing a detailed narrative. Yet, so far as my occasion to enquire minutely into certain matters enables me to judge, it seems to me that generally Professor Hume Brown must have carefully studied his subject *de novo*. Not only so, but he has so mastered his materials that his narrative is not overloaded by detail, and while, perhaps, somewhat bare and cold, it is excellently proportioned and remarkably perspicuous. If anything he is perhaps too disregarding of colour, and it may be that by rejecting the stories of Pitscottie and others he has neglected something that is even of some substantial value. It is at least puzzling to understand the special preference shown for Ferrerius as an original authority.

Volume two covers the whole field of the great Church and State controversy begun by Morton and not terminated until 1689—if it be terminated even yet. Professor Hume Brown's standpoint is mainly that of enlightened orthodoxy: if not an out-and-out defender of the Kirk he is its warm apologist; and if he does not deem Morton and his successors wholly without excuse, he evidently supposes that they stand greatly in need of it. The subject is too thorny a one to be entered on here, and whether Professor Hume Brown has done more than beat about the bush may be a matter of opinion; but those in want of an antidote to his views will find something of the kind in the volumes of Mr. Lang and Mr. Mathieson. From the sixteenth century onward Scottish history supplies almost infinite opportunities for agreeing to differ; and while recognising the general fair-mindedness and discrimination of Professor Hume Brown, one has to confess to a desire to differ from him on many points. Thus the case against the genuineness of the Casket letters seems to me to be so weak, and to have been lately so greatly weakened, as hardly to justify the inability to

arrive at any conclusion even as to probabilities ; but whether genuine or not, they were regarded at the time as of so great account that without their support Moray and Morton would have been in a very bad box. Further, if they were not genuine, what are we to think of their use by the spotless Moray ? Then Professor Hume Brown's statement that Moray's treatment of his sister 'was all that could have been demanded of a brother,' can hardly be interpreted as meaning very much if we remember that she was a Catholic sister and he an extremely Protestant brother, and that the scene was Scotland in the sixteenth century. On the character and aims of Moray, Morton, and Maitland, on the purposes of James and the nature of his various political intrigues, on the problem of the Duke of Lennox, on the deviations of Elizabeth, on the careers of Argyll, Montrose, and Dundee, and on the reigns of Charles I. and II., Professor Hume Brown has necessarily had to leave much unsaid ; and regarding his particular readings of the events of those very difficult centuries there will not be unanimous agreement ; but even those who differ from him will admit that his conclusions are the result of careful inquiry and a very comprehensive knowledge of the subject.

T. F. HENDERSON.

DE NECESSARIIS OBSERVANTIIS SCACCARII DIALOGUS, COMMONLY CALLED DIALOGUS DE SCACCARIO. By Richard, Son of Nigel, Treasurer of England and Bishop of London. Edited by Arthur Hughes, C. G. Crump, and C. Johnson. Pp. viii, 250. Clarendon Press, 1902. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE revenue wrung laboriously by the Sheriff, item by item, from every normal county of medieval England was handed over by him to the officials of the Exchequer in two lump sums at the Easter and Michaelmas sessions. The Pipe Rolls, containing an official record of the details which compose these sums, throw a flood of light on every aspect of the social and economic life of England. To read these Rolls profitably, however, presupposes a mastery of the highly technical terms used to describe the routine work of the Exchequer. These terms are explained in a unique treatise composed by the Treasurer of Henry II. under the form of a Dialogue, laboured and undramatic it is true, but valuable from its evident sincerity and semi-official character.

To provide a pure text of this priceless document is the task here essayed and accomplished so successfully that it is not likely to require revision, unless some unknown MS. is yet discovered. A scholarly introduction and copious notes add to the value of a book which, without making any startling contribution to existing knowledge, brings together in a convenient form the chief results of recent research into the financial machinery of the Norman and Angevin Kings of England. The claims of Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, to rank as the 'founder' of the English Exchequer are dismissed somewhat curtly in a short sentence in a foot note to p. 43—perhaps too curtly in spite of the high authority of Dr. Liebermann, which is cited. The word 'founder' is indeed an unfortunate one. Who dare

claim to be the sole founder of any one of our national institutions, from the Parliament to the Cabinet Council? The conclusions arrived at by Mr. Hughes and his fellow-editors are perhaps influenced by the special form in which they state their problem, viz. (p. 13), 'From which of the two sources, Normandy or England, did the Exchequer of Henry II. derive its characteristics?' This leads them to lay much stress on the antecedents of the officers of the staff, of the fiscal machinery, and of the system of arithmetic employed in the Exchequer, to the comparative neglect of the process of organization effected by Crown officials on English soil after the Norman Conquest. Bishop Roger might, perhaps, be more happily described as the final organizer than as the founder of the Exchequer—as the master-mind who arranged the pre-existing factors into an ordered system and stamped the whole with the seal of his individual genius. In the words of Mr. J. Horace Round (*Commune of London*, p. 94), 'The system was by no means complete at Bishop Roger's death, nor, on the other hand, were its details, even then, his own work alone. He did but develop what he found.'

The amended text bears evidence of extreme care wisely and ungrudgingly expended. The introduction and notes contain much valuable information, and yet leave some problems in obscurity which fuller treatment might have cleared up. A few minor errors might be mentioned, but these are trivial blemishes on a useful piece of work for which many scholars will feel grateful.

W. S. McKECHNIE, D.Phil.

INDEX BRITANNIAE SCRIPTORUM QUOS EX VARIIS BIBLIOTHECIS NON PARVO LABORE COLLEGIT IOANNES BALEUS CUM ALIIS: JOHN BALE'S INDEX OF BRITISH AND OTHER WRITERS. Edited by Reginald Lane Poole, M.A., Ph.D., with the help of Mary Bateson. 4to. Pp. xxxvi, 580. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1902. £1 17s. 6d.

JOHN BALE, born in 1495, published at Ipswich in 1548 the first edition of his *Catalogue of Illustrious Writers of Great Britain*, afterwards expanded and republished at Basle in 1557, while the exiled Bishop was resident there. A very ornately bound copy of the original print in Glasgow University library bears the signature 'Ro. Balleie,' which perhaps indicates the distinguished covenant-principal of the University as a former owner of the book. Bale's work was characterised by much industry, although it had the defects of its qualities inseparable from a biographical calendar and list of works composed in the sixteenth century. The words 'Verbum Domini manet in aeternum,' prominent on the cover of the Glasgow copy just mentioned, suggest the promise of a somewhat greater degree of permanent accuracy within than the book possessed. It is, however, a most extensive and well-stocked, albeit, in all corners unweeded, garden, in which future critics, like their predecessors, will gather much, both of fruit and flower, for the garner of critical literature. The author's autograph Index or note-book, preserved among Selden's manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, is no unworthy voucher of the workmanlike care with which Bale made

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his great compilation. It is easy to find him uncritical; it will be less easy to accord him his due as a zealous and systematic collector of material in libraries destined to early dissolution, and from manuscripts of which a distressing proportion must now be reckoned as lost for ever. That a scholar of Mr. Poole's rank should have given twelve years to the task of editing this great mid-sixteenth century Index of British literature, containing not only Bale's sources for his more expansive catalogue, but many revised, altered, and additional entries, must be matter of great satisfaction to all concerned in serious study of English letters and history. Side by side with Bale's catalogues we now have the notes out of which they, or at least the second edition grew, enormously helping us to estimate by comparison with the nucleus note the developed chapter in the catalogue. And besides, Mr. Poole, with the experienced aid of Miss Bateson, has appended more than 3800 foot-notes, which, although not intended to be exhaustive, yet go far towards the bibliographical identifications ultimately requisite. One need seek for nothing to correct and little to amplify. For Wilkinus of Spoleto (p. 465) reference may be made to M. Paul Meyer's *Alexandre le Grand*, 1886, tome ii. 40. There is a MS. of Wilkinus in the Advocates' Library, No. 18. 4. 9. The *Scala Temporum* (pp. 487-9) is apparently the *Scala Mundi* of which the MS. Adv. Lib., 33. 3. 1, contains a copy. In an appendix, p. 496, of the *Index*, there is printed the following sufficiently singular Scottish list: 'SCOTICI SCRIPTORES: Dunbar, Rennedus, David Lyndesey, Rolandus Harryson, Balantinus, Quintinus, Stephanus Hawis atque alii.' There are riddles here not attempted by the editor. Rennedus must be Kennedy, Dunbar's famous 'flying' adversary, perhaps misinterpreted in transcription. Quintinus might be understood as a possible if surprising form of Andrew of Wyntown, but it would be a hard saying to accept Stephen Hawes as a Scot. A scribal corruption seems not very improbable. Quintin Shaw was one of the 'makars' mourned by Dunbar, and his name may have been transmogrified into Quintinus S[tephanus] Hawis! Rolandus, by the reverse process, may be a surname giving us John Rolland, author of the *Court of Venus*, followed by the better known Henryson and Bellenden. Certain interesting matters emerge from occasional comparisons between the *Index* now edited and the printed Catalogues. One not adverted to is the fact that in the first version of the Catalogue Bale enumerated the poetic achievements of James I. —'De regina sua futura'; 'Cantilenas Scoticas'; 'Rhithmos Latinos'. The entry, one of the earliest echoes of what had been said by John Major and Hector Boece, was dropped out of the second edition, sharing in this the fate of entries about other Scots, e.g. Boece and Patrick Hamilton. The process is reflected in the titles adopted in 1548 and 1557. In the former Catalogue Britain expressly included England, Wales, and Scotland; in the latter it had contracted into a Britain 'which we now call England' (quam Angliam nunc dicimus). The note-book *Index*, like the 1557 Catalogue, was framed on this geographically narrower model—which is an occasion of regret, although there remain very many items of international reference, such as the mention of 'Andreas Ammonius, Italus,' who wrote a history of the Scottish conflict, evidently the battle of

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Flodden. To edit this voluminous Index, written like the Catalogues in Latin, there has come not only a long devotion to a burdensome duty, but also a wide and deep knowledge of early British authors. Mr. Poole and Miss Bateson have turned out a volume packed with erudition, and rich in biographical interest. Indispensable as an adjunct to Bale's Catalogue, and at the same time self-contained and of large independent merit, it confers a boon on every student of literary history, and by its marked technical accomplishment does credit to English medieval bibliography.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE LOVE OF BOOKS : BEING THE PHILOBIBLON OF RICHARD DE BURY.
Newly translated into English by E. C. Thomas. Pp. xvi, 144, and
frontispiece. London : Moring, 1902. 1s. nett.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOCELIN OF BRAKELOND : A PICTURE OF MONASTIC
LIFE IN THE DAYS OF ABBOT SAMSON. Newly edited by Sir Ernest
Clarke, F.S.A. Pp. xliii, 285, and frontispiece. London : Moring,
1903. 2s. 6d. nett.

THE series of 'King's Classics,' issued under the general editorship of Professor Gollancz, by the De La More Press, in neatly bound and well printed volumes, is deserving of all praise. The reissue of Mr. Thomas's scarce translation of the passionate book-lover's outpourings will be a boon to many who desired a closer acquaintance with that curious and interesting person, the tutor of Edward III. Professor Gollancz is answerable for the editing of the reissue, and his work has been mainly in the nature of judicious pruning. It is a pity that the old errors of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be repeated, more particularly as Mr. Thomas was at pains carefully to correct these in his own preface. Scottish readers will be interested to note that Edward Baliol was present at Bury's enthronization as Bishop of Durham, an event which, as Mr. Thomas shows, took place 5 June, 1334. It is pleasant to note that he has carefully verified references, many of which were inaccurately given in the edition of 1888. A few misprints still remain.

Sir Ernest Clarke's translation of *Jocelin* is worthy of the highest praise. It has clearly been a labour of love, and of love tempered by sound judgment and restraint. In the attempt to give the piquant flavour of Jocelin's style, and with Carlyle's example before one, it would have been easy to overstep the limits of accuracy. The temptation has been resisted. With Dr. M. R. James to revise the text the work issues under a literary aegis of the securest kind. It is not common to find editorial work of such excellence in a cheap issue of this kind. Here any omission or inaccuracy comes as a surprise. For instance, we should like and expect to see a reference to the text of Abbot Anselm's borough charter, published by Mr. J. H. Round, for it is of material importance as illustrating the nature of Samson's grant. *Camera* should not be translated parlour but treasury, and *cimeterium* not cemetery but churchyard. The force of the word *purprestura* has been missed, and in more places than one the notes are weak on the legal side. An interesting reference to the Assize of Novel

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Disseisin calls for a note. The note on the 'beasts of the chase' should be rewritten in the light of Mr. G. J. Turner's *Forest Pleas*, edited for the Selden Society, which conclusively proves the error of the old doctrines.

It is a great thing, a boon which one must hope will be truly appreciated, that learned work of this kind should be placed within reach of the many. It is impossible that any man who has a spark of humour or interest in humanity should open an English *Jocelin* and not read on with entertainment and delight to the end.

MARY BATESON.

HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY. By William Turner, S.T.D. Pp. x, 674.
Boston and London: Ginn & Company, 1903. 12s. 6d.

THE author of this volume complains quite justly that text-books on the History of Philosophy available for the use of English students either 'dismiss the Scholastic period with a paragraph,' or 'treat it from the point of view of German transcendentalism.' He aims at correcting this error. His purpose is to 'accord to Scholasticism a presentation in some degree adequate to its importance in the history of speculative thought.'

He has been faithful to his purpose. In the first place he has devoted very nearly a third of a volume, which begins with the philosophy of the Babylonians, Assyrians, the Egyptians and the Chinese, and ends with the newest products of American Voluntarism, to the exposition of Scholastic philosophy. In the second place he has treated Scholasticism, and Scholasticism only, in a manner that gives clear evidence of knowledge at first hand of the authors whose doctrines he summarizes. In the third place he has looked at the history of philosophy as a whole from the Scholastic point of view and employed the golden period of Scholasticism as his criterion whereby to estimate philosophic doctrine.

The results attained are precisely those which one might expect from a writer who is imperfectly equipped with knowledge of his material, who deals with that material from a narrow point of view, who shows no originality of thought, but who is able to express his opinions clearly and simply.

The writer could have produced a useful history of Scholastic and Patristic thought. His presentation of the doctrine of St. Augustine and especially St. Thomas, to take two great names, is, on the whole, competent and fresh. But outside of this region the accounts he renders lack both accuracy and insight. Even when dealing with writers who did much to determine the character of Scholastic thought he is betrayed into grave errors. To imply, as the author does, that Plotinus, like other Neo-Platonists, was 'more influenced by Platonic tradition than by the teaching of the Dialogues' is to indicate that either Plotinus or Plato or both have not been read—so intimate, full, and direct, and so manifest everywhere is the knowledge which Plotinus shows of Plato's writings.

It is not only the absence of direct knowledge of his authors that mars his treatment of the great names in Greek philosophy, but a misleading narrowness of outlook. What can be said for a writer who puts it down as the cardinal defect of the ethical teachings of Aristotle that he did not

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'refer human action to future reward and punishment'; or who attributes 'the downfall and dissolution' of Stoicism to 'the doctrine that the wise man is emancipated from all moral law'?

And when we come down to modern philosophy one fares, if possible, still worse. A writer on the history of philosophy might be expected to know Kant. But we are told that Kant held that the moral law is not founded on perfection of self, 'for perfection is, on final analysis, reducible to pleasure or happiness'; and that the moral law is 'impressed on the will by the practical reason.' Kant presented the perfection of self and the happiness of others as the end of moral action, and practical reason means nothing in his writings except the moral will: not to know this is really to know nothing of his ethical theory.

A competent history of philosophy for the use of English students is a crying need. But it is better that we should continue to use translations of German works and content ourselves with seeing this great subject in a foreign garb than to place in the hands of students shallow and unreliable text-books.

HENRY JONES.

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF KING EDWARD VI. (*Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers, edited by Vernon Staley, Provost of the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew, Inverness*). Pp. vii, 374. London: Moring, 1903. 5s. nett.

It was a happy thought to choose for the second volume of this series the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. (1549). Besides being beautiful and interesting in itself, it is a historical document of the very first importance. Nowhere do the characteristic principles of the English Reformation—as distinguished from the German, the Swiss, or the Scottish—find purer expression. Nowhere is the strength of the position occupied by the historical High Church party in the Church of England more apparent. To us in Scotland the book possesses a special interest, because the compilers of the Scottish Liturgy of 1637—commonly, though not quite accurately nor quite justly, called 'Laud's Liturgy'—reverted to its pages for much of the fine material wherewith, in that ill-fated book, they so greatly enriched the Communion Service. It is the first Prayer Book of the Church of England as reformed; and though it was prepared by a body of bishops and theologians, 'the Windsor divines,' as they are called, among whom were represented both the schools—Old and New—existing in the Church of England at the accession of Edward VI., and with the express purpose of keeping the Church together, yet all the points of difference which distinguish Anglicanism from Romanism are there. All the services are in the English tongue—the 'language understood of the (English) people.' If the Bishop of Rome is of course included in the general intercessions for 'all bishops, priests, and deacons,' he is ignored as Pope: nay, there is a petition in the Litany for deliverance from his 'tyranny,' and 'all his detestable enormities.' If the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is 'commonly called the Mass,' our

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redemption, it is expressly stated, is by Christ's 'one oblation once offered on the Cross.' If the Holy Table is called the altar, that is no more than it is in the Sermon on the Mount and the Epistle to the Hebrews, not to speak of all the 'Coronation Orders' of the Kings and Queens of England down to the very latest. If, again, the doctrine of the Sacramental Presence is 'High,' it is certainly not 'Higher' (though it is naturally less controversial) than in the *First Confession of Faith of the Protestants of Scotland* (1560). If 'the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of Thy Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and God,' is commemorated in the Thanksgiving for the righteous departed, that is assuredly no more than is justified in Scripture by her own *Magnificat* and the terms of her Salutation by Elizabeth; while all prayer to her, and every Invocation of the Saints,—even the three which kept their place in Cranmer's first draft of the English Litany—and every narrative of Saints other than those mentioned in the Bible, are rigorously cut off. One can understand how while, in later issues of the Book of Common Prayer, the Reformers—largely under the influence of our John Knox and the Swiss divines—went further, and (it must be admitted) lowered the tone of the services both as regards joy and beauty, they were yet fain to confess, as the clergy of the Church of England are required to do to the present day, that the First Prayer Book of King Edward contains 'nothing superstitious or ungodly.' A candid perusal of the volume can hardly fail, we think, to make the reader rise from it with a higher admiration alike for the literary skill and the devotional power of Cranmer and his coadjutors.

The text adopted in the edition before us is taken from that of an impression of the book printed by Edward Whitchurch in March, 1549; such reprints as have hitherto appeared have been from a later copy printed in May of the same year. The volume is at once handsome in appearance and handy in size. Type, printing, and paper are all that the most fastidious could desire.

JAMES COOPER.

PEEBLES: BURGH AND PARISH IN EARLY HISTORY. By Robert Renwick. Pp. ix, 118, with Map of Peebles and District. Peebles: A. Redpath, 1903. 4s. nett.

MR. RENWICK is devoted to Peebles. His services were warmly acknowledged by the late William Chambers in the preface to the Peebles volume of early Burgh Records in 1872. More recently Mr. Renwick has published 'Historical Notes on Peeblesshire Localities,' 'The Aisle and the Monastery,' 'Extracts and Gleanings from the Burgh Records from 1604 till 1714,' and 'Peebles in the Reign of Queen Mary' is in the press. The present book on the early history of the Burgh and the Parish is thus one of a series—it is the first chapter of a large work—therefore it would be unfair to complain that it is incomplete or to dwell on omissions which doubtless have been, or will be, supplied in the later chapters.

It begins with the time-honoured story of the invasion of Britain by Julius Caesar, of the Gadeni and of those hardy people who stained their bodies with woad.

Mr. Renwick quotes Ptolemy the geographer, he follows Mr. Skene through the dark ages and presumes that Peebles lay within King Rydderch's kingdom, and that four centuries afterwards it was governed by Earl David; but all that is known of Peebles until the beginning of the fourteenth century could be given in a few lines.

Peebles prides itself on having been made a Royal Burgh by King David I., others have denied its right to such antiquity and have ascribed its creation as a burgh to King David II. Mr. Renwick assumes that Peebles was a royal burgh in the twelfth century, though Chalmers states that it was created by King David II. by charter dated 20th September, 1367. Mr. W. Chambers gives the date as the 24th September. Mr. Renwick must regard that charter (of which he says nothing) as a mere confirmation of an earlier creation, and probably this is the correct view, because royal burghs are first known to have been represented in Parliament in the Parliament of Cambuskenneth in 1326, and Mr. Renwick found in the Exchequer Rolls evidence that Peebles paid its contribution to the tax then imposed, and Peebles was certainly represented in the Convention which settled the ransom of David II. in 1357. In 1468 William of Peebles was the Commissioner. From that date the burgh regularly sent representatives to the Scottish Parliament. The public records give much information as to Peebles and its burgesses during the fourteenth and following centuries, and these Mr. Renwick has used with discrimination, and every page shews his intimate knowledge of the history of these later times. The narrative, however, is somewhat difficult to follow; it would have been easier had it been chronological. He leads his readers into the middle of one century, and then suddenly turns back two hundred years and as quickly resumes, but by the aid of a table of contents and of a fairly good index it is easy to find one's way in the book.

In the appendix are abstracts of a considerable number of charters and deeds to lands in the parish; it is not a history of the parish, but a calendar of parochial title-deeds. Students of early Scottish literature will be interested in the attractive propositions of this little book towards the possible identification of 'Maister Johne,' 'Maister Archibald' and 'Schir Williame' interlocutors in the 'Thrie Priests of Peblis.'

A. C. LAWRIE.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART, THE YOUNG CHEVALIER. By Andrew Lang. New Edition, with Frontispiece. Pp. xiii, 476. London: Longmans, 1903. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book is reprinted in a handy form from Messrs. Goupil's sumptuously illustrated *édition de luxe*, and must be cordially welcomed by every student of the Jacobite period. Mr. Lang has used with great skill the information supplied by the Stuart papers in the Royal collection, the Cumberland, Tremouille, and other MSS., and, by interweaving it with what was given in the older printed authorities, has produced by far the most valuable life of Prince Charles Edward that has yet appeared.

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Mr. Lang has brought out excellently the difficulties which beset the young Prince from his birth, the difficulty of reconciling the Catholic and Protestant elements in his education, which, beginning with his early youth, was the cause of estranging the Old Chevalier for long from his *dévote* wife, and the greater difficulty of obtaining real support of his claims and cause from the Catholic powers. He has presented an admirable account of the state of the Highlands in the year 1745, and a careful survey of the Prince's doings to Culloden as well as his flight 'in the Heather,' and has given due recognition of the wonderful fidelity of the friendly Highlanders. Mr. Lang cites a good deal of evidence about the visit (or visits) of Prince Charles to London after Culloden, and of these mysterious visits we are always glad to have more information. He gives a tradition about the Prince's residence at Godalming in 1753, but does not mention that the Cardinal York spoke of a visit of his brother 'to England in disguise' during a conversation he had in 1802 with Robert Dalrymple, though the latter chronicles the date of the visit erroneously as 1763, in his MS. journal in the possession of the Earl of Stair.

Mr. Lang has done more than any other historian to disperse the mists which surrounded the Prince during the long period of his 'incognito.' The amount of new information he has collected is vast, and he has skilfully noted the various influences on the Prince's decadence. To him we owe the knowledge of the doings of the Polish Mme. de Talmond, Mlle. Luci, and Mme. de Vassé, and one is glad to find that he does not adopt the harsh theory that the unfortunate Clementina Walkinshaw was, consciously at least, a betrayer of secrets, however much the cause suffered from her reputation as a 'female politician,' and that she owed this ill-fame rather to the notorious 'Pickle.'

In his chapter on 'Charles III.,' Mr. Lang allows a curious misprint which disfigured the first edition also. 'Miss Speedy,' whom the Prince wished to marry, was not a Princess of Salm Kynbourg, but Princess Marie Louise Ferdinande of the well-known house of Salm Kyrbourg. This is on a par with a similar mistake on p. 348, where the Duc de Biron's name is misspelled. Corrections might also be suggested for two forms of names likely to mislead, Lord Ogilvy being spelled in the book Ogilvie, and the well-known Lady Jane Douglas being styled 'Lady Janet.'

Space forbids Mr. Lang, in his account of Prince Charles Edward's last days, to do more than touch lightly on the Hay Allens or Sobieski Stuarts and their alleged origin. He quotes, however, as evidence against them a strange story of a reported interview between Napoleon I. and the Countess of Albany, in which the latter stated she was never a mother. He gives this story on hearsay evidence only at third hand, and one would have thought it simpler to rely solely upon Prince Charles's statements quoted from the Braye MSS., and the inherent improbabilities in the Hay Allens' claims, than to call in such hazy traditional evidence to help to disallow them.

Mr. Lang has an irritating habit of calling the attention of his readers to certain obscure works of fiction to help him to emphasise portions of

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his history, and this is apt to make one undervalue the historical value of his work at the first glance, but the mass of carefully sifted details from the most obscure sources which he has got together renders this book one which no future writer on the later Stuarts will be able to afford to neglect.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By William Clarence Webster, Ph.D., Lecturer on Economic History in New York University. Pp. ix, 526, with Maps and Illustrations. Boston and London: Ginn & Company, 1903. 6s. 6d.

THIS book, written by a teacher for students, is systematic, clear, and concise. The author appropriately possesses a business-like faculty for saying what he has to say briefly and to the point, placing in prominence everything important, and omitting everything needless. He has known how to select with judgment, and to condense without distorting. His writing is uncoloured by prejudice; he has no theory to defend, no special system or nation to glorify. And, while he traces effects to their causes, and exhibits the forces behind commercial activity, and the principles which govern their action, he leaves philosophic reflections to his readers, and does not even venture on prophecy. He deals in facts, which he has admirably set in order.

A history of commerce in such a form as this is just now peculiarly opportune, when we are all invited, if not forced, to reconsider the fiscal policy of our own country; for it is the work of an impartial foreigner who, with ample knowledge and without visible predilection, gives a clear account of the various fiscal policies which have been adopted by the nations—ours and his own included—explains the motives of these policies, and describes their effects.

In the first hundred pages the author gives a condensed but vivid account of Ancient Commerce and of the Commerce of the Middle Ages. The remainder of the book deals with Modern Commerce, in three periods. The first begins with the great geographical discoveries of the fifteenth century and ends with the invention of the steam engine, when there begins the next period, which he calls the Age of Steam; and from the Age of Steam, in which we still live, he discriminates a third period, which he calls the Age of Electricity. It commences with the laying of the Atlantic cable in 1866, which was almost coincident with the beginning of the new era of expansion in the author's own country after the close of the civil war. Finally he gives a comprehensive survey of the Commerce of the World at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Some most interesting chapters treat of the struggle for commercial supremacy in which the chief nations of the world are now engaged, and the advantages and disadvantages of each competitor are described. A chapter is devoted to The New German Empire and its Commerce, and another to England and her New Rivalries. These, like the rest of the book, are thoughtful, temperate, fully informed, and entirely unbiassed.

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In such a packed storehouse of facts as this volume a slip of memory or of typography was almost inevitable. Thus, where it is stated (p. 9) that a banking system had been developed in the Tigro-Euphrates region at least as early as 6000 B.C. Dr. Webster probably wrote 600 B.C.; and when he says (p. 510) that Mexico has no line of railway connecting her Pacific and Gulf coasts he has no doubt forgotten for the moment the railway across the Tehuantepec isthmus.

'If this book is dull,' says the author, 'it will be because I have failed to grasp the dramatic elements which the subject presents.' He has not failed, and his book is never dull. The chapter in which he summarises Mediaeval Commerce, that in which he describes the English industrial revolution in the eighteenth century, his vivid account of Napoleon's 'Continental system' and his story of England's long and fierce fight for commercial supremacy are intensely interesting and only fail to be conspicuous because all is so well done.

The book, itself well suited to be a work of reference, is amply provided with references to other works, and is also furnished with numerous maps and illustrations.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

LEADERS OF PUBLIC OPINION IN IRELAND. By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. In two volumes. New edition. Vol. I. pp. xxii, 308; Vol. II. pp. viii, 336. London: Longmans, 1903. 25s. nett.

THE appearance of this much enlarged edition of Mr. Lecky's earliest work raises afresh a question more commonly met with in the history of literature than in the literature of history—the question of the prudence or otherwise of an author's endeavours to improve in age the productions of youth. Mr. Lecky's first book is in some respects his best. It certainly contains more vivid and effective portraiture than his more elaborate works. Not merely are his character sketches of Swift, Flood, Grattan and O'Connell more complete than any which his *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* contains, but the subordinate figures are drawn with a lightness of touch, and, at the same time, a fulness of treatment, which make the book bright and attractive in a degree to which the *History*, from the nature of the case, could hardly be expected to attain. That Mr. Lecky should desire, to use his own language, 'to bring his early writings to the level of his later knowledge, and into full harmony with his later opinions,' is natural enough. But was it wise or necessary—wise for Mr. Lecky's own fame, necessary in the interests of historical accuracy—to attempt this reconciliation between the rashness of youth and the experience of age? As for the necessity, it is not easy to see it; even though Mr. Lecky has certainly had much provocation in the unfair use which has been made of a few unconsidered judgments in his early writings to confute the conclusions of his riper knowledge. In its earlier form the book was in accord with the essential verities, even though it hardly did justice to Pitt's Irish policy, and contained views of the authors of the Act of Union which have not stood the test to which Mr. Lecky's own industry has subjected them. Of the

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wisdom of revision there is still more room for doubt. The omission from these volumes of the study of Swift is not only a loss in itself, but it spoils the completeness of the book. The author's original conception of tracing the growth of an independent public opinion in Ireland in the eighteenth century in the persons of four great public men was unquestionably right. Swift was the first to create such a public opinion among his countrymen; and although a considerable interval elapsed between his memorable exposition of the possibilities of agitation in the hands of a pamphleteer of genius, and the downfall of the system which roused his indignation, the task of Flood and Grattan would have been far heavier had the Drapier's Letters never been written. Not only, therefore, have we to lament in the present volumes the loss of a really admirable estimate of the great Dean of St. Patrick's, but the unity of Mr. Lecky's work is seriously marred by the omission.

But although, on the whole, one is inclined to wish, in spite of many minor corrections, that Mr. Lecky had allowed his earlier work to stand untouched, and been content, as was the author of *Lothair* with reference to *Vivian Grey*, 'to apologise for the continued but inevitable reappearance' of *juvenilia* which no longer reflect his opinions, it need hardly be said that there are large compensations in these volumes for the losses we have to deplore. If the eighteenth century history has not been improved by the omissions, our knowledge of the political history of Ireland in the nineteenth century has been greatly increased by the additions to the work. The second volume of the present edition is in effect a new book, and supplies the best account yet written of O'Connell's wonderful career; with its two great battles—the splendid victory of Catholic Emancipation, and the long-drawn failure of the Repeal movement. But whatever criticism may be passed on the comparative merits of the two editions, it is certain that the book itself marked an epoch in the study of Irish history. If Froude was before him in creating an English audience for the picturesque drama that has been played upon Irish soil, Mr. Lecky has been the first to stimulate among his own countrymen a sense of the importance and the dignity of Ireland's contribution to the common story of the three kingdoms. In this, his earliest work, Mr. Lecky has brought into its proper prominence the part played by the great Irishmen he deals with, not only in relation to their own country, but to their influence on the fortunes of the sister kingdom. And he has done more than this. Remarkable as are his studies of the great leaders of Irish public opinion, Mr. Lecky's pictures of relatively minor figures are even more noteworthy. By such portraits as those of Anthony Malone, the forgotten Cicero of an unreported legislature; of Hely Hutchinson, the remarkable Provost of Trinity College, who proved how poor a guarantee for the good government of a college are the qualities of a statesman; of Keogh the inventor of Catholic Emancipation; and of Duigenan the prototype and incarnation of Orangeism;—by these and kindred studies Mr. Lecky has shown his countrymen that the materials of Irish history are richer in proud memories and piquant personalities than they had supposed. And he has thus supplied a real and much-needed stimulus to historical inquiry in Ireland.

C. LITTON FALKNER.

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THE UNREFORMED HOUSE OF COMMONS, PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION BEFORE 1832. By Edward Porritt, assisted by Annie G. Porritt. Vol. I. pp. xxiii, 623; Vol. II. pp. xiv, 584. Cambridge: University Press, 1903. 25s. nett.

MR. PORRITT, with the assistance of his wife, has produced not only a valuable but an extremely interesting and readable book. The bulk of the careful research on which it is based has been done in the United States. This is a striking testimony to the merits of American libraries, and it also recalls the fact that another eminent work on our Constitution, Todd's *Parliamentary Government in England*, the quarry from which so many subsequent writers have drawn their materials, had its origin in Canada. The arrangement of Mr. Porritt's book is perhaps open to criticism. The subdivisions are neither complete nor exclusive, and the absence of anything like chronological treatment results inevitably in overlapping and repetition. Another defect arises out of the choice of a title. The 'Unreformed House of Commons' came to an end in 1832. This is an excellent dividing date for a treatise on the old franchise in counties and boroughs, and on the peculiarities of representation arising from them. This part of the book is admirably done, except that the author gives no adequate account of the origin of the House of Commons, which is necessary to explain how these franchises began. But there are a number of other topics treated by Mr. Porritt in his first volume, such as religious disabilities, the property qualification of members, the throwing of election expenses upon the candidates, the exclusion of office-holders, the position and duties of the Speaker, and so on. On these points Mr. Porritt has much that is important to say, but he is needlessly hampered by his limit of 1832. The admission of Jews to Parliament dates from 1858, and that of professed infidels from 1888; the property qualification was abolished in 1858; a whole series of statutes for the prevention of corruption has been passed since 1832; altered regulations have increased the duties of the Speaker and have emphasised the non-partizan character of his office. It is only fair to say that the author has not bound himself too narrowly by the limit suggested by his title; but in treating of such later developments he is less full and less thorough than he would have been if they had occurred at an earlier date.

But the part of the book which is most affected by the choice of title is the chapters on Scotland at the beginning of the second volume. Strictly speaking, the only part of Scottish history which falls within the scope of the work is the century and a quarter from 1707 to 1832 during which Scotland sent representatives to the unreformed House of Commons at Westminster. Mr. Porritt, however, has not limited his treatment of Scottish representation to this period, and his chapters on Burgh representation and the Franchise in the Counties, in spite of many merits, are marred by the one elementary fact that Scotland as a separate state had no House of Commons at all. The differences between the Scottish and the English parliaments, arising out of the wholly different origin of the two assemblies, are so profound and far-reaching that any treatment which involves an assumption of similarity, is necessarily defective and misleading. It is not that Mr. Porritt does not grasp the differences, but that he is

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compelled by his title to disregard them partially. Hence his over-emphasis on the division of estates in Scotland. He speaks of a 'first estate,' a 'second estate,' and a 'third estate,' as if they were distinct and recognised entities like Lords and Commons in England. On p. 93 (of vol. ii.) he makes the deliberate assertion that 'in the early as in the closing years of the Scotch parliament the three estates consisted of the nobility, the barons, and the burgesses.' This is more than disputable, because it wholly disregards the clerical estate, a subject to which the author has also given too little attention in his treatment of England. The original estates, though the distinction was never so great as to lead to separate chambers, were (1) clerical tenants-in-chief, (2) secular tenants-in-chief, (3) corporate tenants-in-chief, *i.e.* the delegates of royal burghs. Of these the second body was gradually diminished by the disappearance of the lesser barons and freeholders, and their refusal to obey the statute of James I. which allowed them to send commissioners. When the Reformation destroyed for a time the clerical estate, the representation of the lesser tenants-in-chief was finally organised by the Act of 1587, and the delegates from counties obviously distinguished from the nobles by their representative character, served to keep up the number of the estates. But in the seventeenth century when the Stuart rulers restored the bishops to Parliament, there were really four estates; and it was only when Presbyterianism was restored, first by the rebellion of 1639, and again by the Revolution, that the three estates of nobility, barons, and burgesses constituted a complete Parliament.

If we may offer a humble suggestion to Mr. Porritt, it is that at some future date he should revise the book under the title of 'The House of Commons'; that he should incorporate in it the history of parliamentary reform which he promises in his preface; that he should lay rather more stress on the origin of representation in England, and also on the obscure relations of clerical and lay representation in the fourteenth century; and that he should exclude as irrelevant the treatment of Scotland before 1707 except so far as it is needed to explain the representative system adopted at the Union. Such a book, retaining the admirable chapters on Ireland, would be for some time to come the standard treatise on the popular branch of our legislature.

R. LODGE.

THE ARMS OF THE BARONIAL AND POLICE BURGHS OF SCOTLAND. By John Marquess of Bute, K.T., J. H. Stevenson, and H. W. Lonsdale. Pp. iv, 528, with Armorial Drawings. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1903. 42s. nett.

THE title of this handsome volume is very much a misnomer, as it appears from its pages that at present only three of the Baronial and Police Burghs—Lerwick, Govan, and Alloa—are possessed of arms in the proper heraldic sense of the term. But all the Police Burghs have, since the passing of the Burgh Police Act of 1892, been under the necessity of providing themselves with a corporate seal, and what the learned authors have in most

cases done is, where at all possible, to employ the devices on these seals as the basis for proper heraldic burghal coats. Many of the seals have, however, devices of such extreme simplicity, or of such utter impossibility from a heraldic point of view that they do not afford any materials for the construction of a coat, and in these cases much labour has been expended in offering suggestions for remedying the deficiency by drawing upon the history or local circumstances of the different burghs for appropriate bearings. It is pathetic to think that in the great majority of instances these ingenious proposals may remain disregarded and unheeded by the communities for whose benefit they are designed. For those burghs, however, which may decide at any time to procure a grant of arms from the Lyon Office, the book will be found a mine of valuable information, for it is characterised throughout by great heraldic knowledge and a wide scholarship, in addition to which—a feature not usual in works of the kind—a vein of keen and genuine humour runs through it.

Some of the devices on the burgh seals at present in use are of the most primitive and inappropriate character. Armadale, for example, simply uses a stamp with the name of the place upon it, while Bridge of Allan has upon its seal a bridge at the end of which an omnibus having two passengers in the box beside the driver is approaching a lamp-post! In lieu of this latter eminently commonplace design the authors go to the opposite extreme, and propose, naturally enough, a bridge and a river, but in addition, for some unknown reason, the sun, moon, and the five planets, Jupiter, Saturn, Venus, Mars, and Mercury! In fact the tendency of the book is a little too much in the direction of too great elaborations in the designs suggested, as in the case of Auchtermuchty which is perfectly satisfied with the simple device of a husbandman sowing, in substitution for which a complicated coat is proposed, commemorating by a boar standing on a mount the derivation of the name 'the steep land of boars,' with a variety of other devices, including a mace, in allusion to the right of the Scrymgeours of Myres, a local family, to appoint one of the macers of the Court of Session!

As Govan has actually provided itself with a coat of arms under grant from the Lyon Office, embodying part of the bearings of the Rowans of Holmfauldhead, the oldest local family, and a ship in the stocks in allusion to the principal industry of the burgh, it was surely unnecessary to suppose for a moment that the Town Council would incur the expense of a fresh escutcheon bearing the figure of Constantine, a mythical Cornish prince and martyr supposed to have been buried in Govan in the Sixth Century!

In many examples, however, the suggestions of the authors are a great improvement upon the original designs, while others of the burghs have designs so appropriate and artistic that very little improvement in them can be suggested. Among them may be instanced Denny, a fine device of the Angel of Peace seated, her right hand resting on the sword of justice, and her left holding an olive branch and a scroll inscribed with the words 'For God and the People,' on her dexter side an anvil and a burning mountain, and on the sinister a caduceus and a papyrus plant, these latter referring to the chief local industries, the manufacture of iron and paper; Kirkintilloch,

the chief feature of which is an embattled wall end tower supposed to be the Roman fort from which the town derived its Celtic name; and Fort William, with two crossed Lochaber axes twined with a chaplet of oak, and over them an imperial crown.

We quite agree with the strictures of the authors upon the more than doubtful taste which characterises the arms of Innerleithen, the chief features of them being a representation of St. Ronan catching the devil by the leg with his pastoral staff, the motto beneath being 'Watch and Pray'!

It is very remarkable that in the long list of the burghs of barony enumerated in the book only a very small proportion of them seem to have been given the opportunity of availing themselves of the highest privileges granted by the Crown, and that in the vast majority of cases the authors mention that there is no evidence of any form of municipal government ever having been erected. It would seem as if the different superiors who obtained these grants did so for their own glorifications and not with any intention of benefiting their vassals by allowing them a measure of self-government.

The book is well printed, and the illustrations of the various coats of arms are both artistic and heraldically accurate.

J. D. G. DALRYMPLE.

THE OCHTERLONEY FAMILY OF SCOTLAND AND BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND. By Walter Kendall Watkins. Printed for the Author, Boston, U.S.A. 1902. Demy 8vo, pp. 11 [with portrait of Major Gen. Sir David Ochterlony, Bart., G.C.B.].

THIS monograph, which informs us also that it is a reprint from the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April, 1902, is entitled within: 'The Scotch Ancestry of Maj. Gen. Sir David Auchterloney, Bart., a native of Boston in New England.' Sir David, who, however, spelt his name as the present baronet does—Ochterlony—was in his time an eminent Indian officer, and was rewarded with the Grand Cross of the Bath and two patents of baronetcy. He was born in Boston in 1758. His father, a sea-captain, who had settled there, is first known to history as 'David Ochterlony, Montrose.' The account before us further deduces Sir David's line, through Alexander Ochterlony of Pitforthly, from William Ochterlony of Wester-Seaton, who died, we are told, in October 'the yeir of God ja ji clxxxxvii yeirs.' We do not know what information that quotation conveys to the author of the account, or to his American readers, but he probably should have printed it *im* *ve* lxxxxvii, and explained it to mean 1597.

Mr. Watkins prints a page of notes of earlier Ochterlonys—reaching back to 1296—but he does not tack them on to the family of the Major General. In the same position is left Roderick Peregrine Ochterlony, to whose son Sir David's second baronetcy descended according to the terms of the patent. We are indebted to Mr. Watkins for such of the results of his researches as he has given us; but we regret that he has so seldom given us his authorities for his statements. A general catalogue of the titles of the

best known Scots Records, and an announcement that 'From these sources the following facts relating to the Ochterloney family have been gathered' are of no use to any one, and among the important statements of which the author has given us no proof are these: that David of Montrose, Sir David's father, was the son of Alexander Ochterlony of Pitforthly, and that Alexander in his turn was a son of Ochterlony of Wester-Seaton. Along with a certain amount of irrelevant matter of more or less interest, Mr. Watkins has printed what seem to be all the more important notices of persons of the name of Ochterlony in Scotland, and we wish that more of the many people who possess the results of laborious searches of this sort among our public records would give them to the public.

J. H. STEVENSON.

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND. Quarterly Statements, April and July, 1903 (38 Conduit Street, London).

These two parts contain further reports of the excavation of Gezer, which continues to yield most interesting results. In the July Statement will be found a summary of the results of the year's work by Mr. Macalister, the most important of which have already been noticed in this journal. Interest still centres in the remarkable megalithic temple of the Canaanites that has been laid bare and the numerous indications of infant sacrifices, orgies, oracle-giving and other concomitants of Semitic worship. As not more than a fifth of the mound has been opened, it will be readily understood that the excavation of the remainder will be followed with the greatest interest. Funds are needed in order to complete the work within the time allowed by the firman.

Conspicuous among popular reprints are *The Temple Classics* (each vol., pott 8vo, cloth, 1/6) in which Messrs. Dent & Co. have made accessible many a goodly piece of literature. Sometimes they have been volumes grown rare—which to have reprinted is occasion of thanksgiving. Sometimes they have been only cheap, handy, and tasteful copies of works current and popular in costlier shapes. Among the latest issues are Crabbe's *Borough*, Goldsmith's *The Bee, and other Essays*, Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, George Eliot's *Silas Marner*, each in one volume. A much more ancient standard treatise, readably translated in three volumes, is St. Augustine's *City of God*, as curious and instructive a chapter of religious and philosophic thought as the annals of Christianity have to show. Each book in the series has its quantum of prefatory and explanatory notes. Why have the publishers not tried the experiment of issuing an early Scots classic or two?

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW (Longmans) for July is largely concerned with continental themes, but the transcript of 'Irish Exchequer Memoranda of Edward I.' will be welcomed across the channel as a text full of standard information. *The Antiquary* (Elliot Stock) in its variety of topics, such as barns, doorways, and bells, has lately, like ourselves (*ante*, p. 74), been dealing with the law of treasure trove. *The Reliquary*

(Bemrose) always justifies its title, enshrining with beautiful illustrations, memories of early art, whether in furniture, architecture, sculpture, or such silver ware as the West Malling jug. An entertaining discussion is in progress on the admissibility of 'eolith' to the scientific vocabulary. *Scottish Notes and Queries* (Brown, Aberdeen) deserves well of the north country, usefully studying Aberdeenshire biography, bibliography, communion tokens and the like. *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (Sawtell, Sherborne) contains from time to time good local matter, notably transcripts of court rolls, wills, and deeds.

THE REVUE DES ETUDES HISTORIQUES (Picard, Paris) has recently had two striking articles. One is on the apocryphal *Codicilles de Louis XIII.*, a set of curious moral and prudential exhortations professing to be addressed by the dying king in 1643 to his son and heir, the 'grand monarque.' The 'Codicilles' might have been a precedent for *Eikon Basilike*, the somewhat analogous production issued a few years later as the alleged work of the 'martyr' King Charles I. The other article which impresses us is a valuable chapter on duelling in France and the spasmodic attempts to suppress it, especially in relation to the case of Montmorency-Bouteville beheaded in 1627 for his share in an affair of honour. One is reminded of the contemporary anti-duel policy of James VI. and I., and even of the execution of Lord Sanquhar as somewhat parallel to that of Bouteville in its disregard of aristocratic sentiment. In the quarterly *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* (Cambridge, Mass.) special praise is due to Mr. John E. Matzke for his elaborate study of the St. George Legend.

Queries

'WRAWES'? AN APPEAL TO FORESTERS. In a charter of the thirteenth century, printed in the *Chartulary of Lindores* (p. 79), just issued by the Scottish History Society under the editorship of Bishop Dowden, Conan, the son of the Earl of Atholl, grants to the monks of Lindores, from his wood of Tulyhen, as much as they may want of dry timber or dead wood for fuel, and also all that they may wish of the wood which is called 'Wrawes of bule and of auhne (*ligna quae dicuntur Wrawes de bule et de auhne*).' The learned editor in a note (p. 259) speaks of this as a 'perplexing passage.' He is however satisfied that 'auhne' is the French *aune*, the alder, and that 'bule' is the birch tree (*bouleau*). 'The main difficulty,' he adds, 'lies in the word "wrawes," and though various conjectures, more or less attractive, have been offered the editor prefers to leave the word for the investigation of others.'

Here is a distinct challenge to the contributors to *The Scottish Historical Review*. Will no one take up the glove? The conjectures already offered should at least be put on record. It is indeed strange enough that a term descriptive of a kind of grant which cannot have been uncommon should occur but once in our whole series of Scottish charters (supposing that the text is here not corrupt), and that it should be left to guesswork to hit upon its probable interpretation. Even the general object or use of the word in question is not quite clear. Wood for fuel has been disposed of. Hazel rods for the making of sleds and long rods for making hoops are subsequently referred to. Is this 'wrawes' wood for use in the construction or thatching of cottages, or for the making of hurdles or fences? Is its etymology to be sought for in Saxon, in old French, or in Gaelic? The need of a Scottish supplement to Du Cange has long been felt. Meanwhile students of ancient forestry should not allow 'wrawes' to remain unexplained for more than another three months.

T. G. LAW.

LENYS OF THAT ILK. In the late Mr. Guthrie Smith's *History of Strathendrick* (p. 290), some account is given of the Lenys of Leny, in Perthshire, and there is a reduced facsimile of their curious genealogical tree at page 292. From the latter, which was probably drawn up and 'set furth' before 1539, I extract the following: 'It is uel knauin bi the Schinachies the first aleuin of thi auld lanyis uer Reidharis whilk is to say Knightis and sum of them uar famus men notinly the reidhar-moir wha got the clai beg fra the king fur his guid deidis and the reidhar our wha sleu in uar the meikle horse man and eik the reidhar vray uha sleu

the meikle tork befor the king fra whilk deid ui gat our Inocignie and airmis.'

I will be glad to know if these exploits of the Lenys are mentioned elsewhere, either in history or tradition, and also if there are any other instances in Scotland of the tenure by symbol similar to the 'claibeg' (*gladius parvus*) by which the lands of Leny were held prior to the charter of 1227, printed in Hailes's *Annals*, appendix iv.

In addition to those given in *Strathendrick* I have been only able to find the following notices of Lenys before 1392—John de Leny, son of Alan de Leny, had a charter of the lands of Drumchastell (*Cart. de Levenax*, p. 48), date between 1250 and 1290, probably about 1267, when he is mentioned as a witness in the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*. Johan de Lanyn did homage to Edward I., 24th August, 1296 (Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii., p. 200). John de Lany was *constabularius* of Tarbert, 1325-1329 (*Exchequer Rolls*, i. 52).

The genealogical tree also mentions a son of the last Leny of that ilk:—'Robert Macean wha yead for ye king to Ingland and ues killed yr,' apparently before 1392, as Jonet de Leny is described at this date as heiress of John de Leny.

A. W. GRAY BUCHANAN.

'SCHOTT OUT.' The familiar phrase of the Linlithgow schoolmaster, Ninian Winzet, that he was 'schott out' of his native town, has been often quoted as a vigorous and pleasant metaphor, characteristic of the author's style, suggesting a forcible expulsion as if by a catapult. Dr. Hewison, the learned editor of Winzet's works for the Scottish Text Society, sanctions this interpretation, for in his glossary he explains, in reference to this passage, 'Schott *v. pt. t.* expelled, i. 49, 5.' But does not 'schott out' here simply stand for 'shut out'? Ninian's words, in the preface to his *Buk of Four Scoir Thre Questions*, are 'I for denying only to subscribe thair phantasies and fachoun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly toun,' that is, he was not only ejected from the town but kept out, prevented from returning. Other unnoticed examples of 'schott' or 'schot' for *shut* will be found in the glossaries to the S.T.S. publications. For example, in the glossary to Dalrymple's translation of Leslie's *History of Scotland* we have 'Shote *v. inf.* shoot, drive, send,' with a reference among others for the *pret.* to 249, 8, 'The Inglis king schot not out be forse of title,' where seemingly 'schot out' = shut out, excluded. In p. 473, 14, also we read of certain noblemen being 'schott in presone.' This does not mean that they were pistolled or shot in prison, but simply 'shut in.'

T. G. LAW.

[In the quotation from Bellenden, *supra* p. 35, 'schot' is evidently 'shoved,' the equivalent of Boece's 'inseruimus.' This makes 'shoved' a fair alternative to Dr. Law's suggestion.]

FISCAL POLICY OF EARLY SCOTLAND. Reference is wanted to any discussion of the historical Fiscal Policy of Scotland, utilising the large body of information on the subject contained in the Exchequer Rolls.

If no such treatise exists the theme should be attractive to some contributor.
A. A. Y.

[Cochran Patrick's *Mediaeval Scotland*, a work of much learning, is the nearest approach to the requirements of the query. There is a great lack of studies in Scottish historical economics, and we trust our correspondent's hint will not be lost.]

STEVENSON. In the *Paisley Marriage Register*, 28 October, 1748. John Graham, Surgeon of Paisley, is married to *Euphanel Stevenson*. My information about this lady is that she was the daughter of a Mr. Stevenson who was married three times, viz.: 1st, to Cecilia Millar of Walkinshaw; 2nd, to Janet Irvine of Drum; 3rd, to Jane Macgregor or Grierson. Who was this Mr. Stevenson, and are any of his descendants still living? Dr. John Graham married a second time in 1765, joined 60th Rl. American Regt., and, leaving his family by his first wife in Scotland, went to America 1766, and died in the island of Antigua 1773. His children by his first wife, who were about 5 to 8 years of age, were brought up by Mr. and Mrs. Stevenson. The two boys became officers in the Army, and the daughter married Dr. Thomas Hay, who, I believe, was City Chamberlain of Edinburgh. In an *Army List*, British Museum, 1763: 115th Regt. *Royal Scotch Lowlanders*, raised at Paisley 1761, disbanded 1763. Officers names appear: Major Commandant J. *Walkinshaw Craufurd*, Lieut. Wm. *Walkinshaw*, 19 Oct., 1761; Lieut. Thos. *Stevenson*, 19 Nov., 1762; Surgeon John *Graham*, 17 Oct., 1761. In 1763 *Stevenson* appears as surgeon in 60 Rl. American Regt.

Newton Abbot, Devon.

F. W. GRAHAM, Colonel.

FAMILY OF HUME. On page 9 of Mrs. Fawcett's *Life of Sir Wm. Molesworth* it is stated that his father, Sir Arscott Molesworth, married a Scottish lady descended from the Hume family—a celebrated Edinburgh beauty, Betsy Hume, who was at one time engaged to her cousin, Sir Alexander Kinloch, but was eventually married to Captain Brown. Miss Hume's father was a Colonel, and Governor of Chester Castle. Was this Colonel Hume related to the well-known Scottish family?

Clovelly, Eastbourne.

F. W. MERCER.

CAPTAIN GEORGE SCOT. In the *Polichronicon seu Policratia Temporum, or, the true Genealogy of the Frasers*, by Master James Fraser, is the following passage:

'Two years before this [that is, before the battle of Auldearn in 1645] one Captain George Scot came to Inverness and there built a ship of a prodigious bigness. . . . My Lord Lovat gave him wood firr and oake in Dulcattack woods. . . . This ship rod at Ancer in the river mouth of Narden [Nairn], when the battell was fought in view. This Captain Scot enlarged the ship afterwards as a friggott for war and sailed with her to the Straights [of Gibraltar] and his brother William with him, who was made Collonell at Venice, whose martial achievements in the defence of that

state against the Turks may very well admit him to be ranked amongst our worthies. He became Vice-Admiral to the Venetian fleet, and the only bane and terror of Mahometan navigators. . . . He oftentimes so cleared the Archipelago of the Musselmans that the Ottoman family and the very gates of Constantinople would quake at the report of his victories; and did so ferret them out of all the creeks of the Hadrattick Gulf and so shrudly put them to it that they hardly knew in what port of the Mediterranean they might best shelter themselves from the fury of his blows. . . . He died in his bed of a fever in the Isle of Candy, January 1652. He was truly the glory of his nation and country, and was honoured after his death with a statue of marble which I saw near the Realto of Venice, April 1659.'

I am editing Fraser's MS. (known as the Wardlaw MS.) for the Scottish History Society, and shall be obliged for information regarding Captain Scot, and the sea-fights in which he took part. What was the name of his ship?

WILLIAM MACKAY.

Reply

CORN-BOTE (*Scottish Antiquary* xvii. 121). Mrs. M. M. Banks in her 'Notes on the *Morte Arthure* Glossary' (a series of revisions of the glossary in her edition of *Morte Arthure*), appearing in the *Modern Language Quarterly* (Nutt) for August, has the following note: 'Corn-bote, ll. 1837, 1786. I had taken this as a reference to a "bote" claimed for damage to corn or for default of rent, which was often paid in corn. In spite of much later discussion as to the meaning of the word no other very probable rendering offers itself. If such a "bote" as I suggest was computed when corn was plentiful and claimed when it was scarce and dear it would be a very grievous one. There is an important reference to poverty resulting from a fall in corn values in the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*. Mr. G. Neilson, whose identification of 'torn-but,' *Bruce* ii. l. 438, with 'corn-bote' is interesting, gives a reference to something like corn-bote from *Rotuli Scotiae* which tells how a certain prior taken prisoner by the Scots was set to ransom at a given sum of money and at four times twenty quarters of corn (*bladorum*) of various sorts. He could not pay, so the Scots imprisoned him. Holthausen prefers to read *coren-bote*, *auserlesene busse*, with 'corne' as in the phrase 'So comely corn,' etc.'

[The reference is to the writ of Richard II. on the petition of the prior of Lanercost, dated 10 December, 1386, and narrating 'quod cum idem prior nuper per inimicos nostros Scotie captus et ad certain pecunie summorum ac ad quater viginti quarteria bladorum diversi generis redemptus fuit ad certum tempus persolvend. et idem pro eo quod non satisfecit de predictis quater viginti quarteriis bladorum prisonatus et adhuc occasione in partibus illis in prisona detentus existat.'—*Rotuli Scotiae* ii. 87.]

Notes and Comments

DEFINITION, always perilous, is especially so when employed to set forth a programme of which the fulfilment rests not with the present merely, but with an indefinite future. Prophecy has incalculable odds against it, and a forecast is best couched in elastic terms. A single sentence will suffice to outline the aim of *The Scottish Historical Review*, which is *The Scottish Antiquary* writ large. The scope of the periodical, is to cover the fields of History, Archaeology, and Literature, with more particular attention to Scotland and the Borders. From our standpoint history is a major term, embracing not only archaeology in its broadest sense, but also a large part of literature. History can have no more vital chapters than those which concern literature, which is the very flower of historical material. Hence, although the precedent may be a new one, our pages will seek to correlate history and literature. Alongside of themes more formally historical and archaeological, prominence will be given to the discussion of problems in old English and Scottish literature, which cannot be allowed to rest entirely in the hands of the philologists.

The purpose of this Review will be the fostering of historical, archaeological, and literary discovery.

THE unique and intensely interesting eleventh century English letter of Gospatric, which the Rev. James Wilson, editor of the *Victoria History of Cumberland*, has had the good fortune to recognise among the archives at Lowther Castle, and to bring (*ante*, p. 62) for the first time to the notice of scholars, illustrates once more the absence of finality in things historical. If we assume with him the unquestionable genuineness of the document—and we owe much deference to the opinion of so shrewd and careful an archivist, although, of course, the writ and its credentials external and internal call for minute scrutiny—we must first of all congratulate ourselves on the recovery of a foundation voucher of Anglo-Scottish history, of prime value in the record of early tenure, and of the first moment for the task of deciphering the sense of the Border annals of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Fierce and complicated has been the contention by sword and pen over the Cumbrian kingdom and principality, and it is not easy to foresee the far-reaching results of this newest and oldest production in the international

litigation. Already its effects display themselves in our columns in a threatened revolt of Cumbria from the accepted theory of the Scottish sovereignty as a political factor within her bounds from 945 until 1092. Mr. Wilson, no bigoted doctrinaire on international problems, but eminently sympathetic towards Scottish claims and influences, now denies that the famous cession of Cumbria by King Edmund of England to Malcolm I. of Scotland in 945 continued effective during the ensuing century and a half.

The generation of Skene and E. W. Robertson has passed away, and although they may not have been succeeded for the moment by historians uniting equal calibre with equal inclination towards remoter themes, we are sure that no truly Scottish position will fail of defence when assailed. Across the Border we hail with respectful admiration the veteran Canon Greenwell, whose fourscore years have only whetted his zeal for the great life of Gospatric which he is to publish shortly in his contribution to *The History of Northumberland*. Debate so intricate cannot all at once be drawn to a head: the definitive issues can only be reached through the convergence of opposite lines of approach. Obviously a marked service will be rendered to the problem when the critics have set before them the historical standpoints of both sides of the Border, co-ordinating the various elements as well as clearing up the obscurities of persons, places, and dates.

What was the position of Gospatric in granting this declarator of vassal rights? When was it granted, and what is its bearing on the statement of Simeon of Durham, under the year 1070, that the Scottish claim to the lordship of Cumberland rested not on law but on force? To whom did Gospatric address his letter? Was it to the Cumbri, as Mr. Wilson believes; or is Combres only a personal name in the genitive case, as the philological authorities appear to think? The absence of allusion to Scottish sovereignty, contrasted with the mention of [King?] Eadread and Earl Siward—does it gainsay the witness of medieval chronicle that Cumbria was in theory and fact a Scottish fief? How came it, too, that at so early a date in a district historically Celtic or British the medium of address was English? If Gospatric held his lands geld-free (and the odd passage in *Fordun*, iv. c. 35, about the abortive demand of Ethelred for the Danish tribute will not be forgotten), have we in the fact one further significant voucher of the break with the past constituted by the subsequent origination of new tenures, including the specially characteristic Cumbrian institution of cornage? There are many questions, and almost every one of them sounds like a challenge.

GOOD progress is being made with the exploration of Rough Castle. So far, comparatively few relics of the Roman occupation have come to light, the most important being a slab bearing the name of the Emperor Antoninus Pius. But there is still much of the interior to open up. The examination of the defences, on the other hand, is practically completed, and the works as now revealed present a striking spectacle. The innermost of the three ramparts that surround the fort, is cespicious in structure, precisely like the Vallum itself; the two outer ones are earthworks of a normal type. The north-west corner must

Rough
Castle.

have been regarded as a specially vulnerable point. The fortifications there are tremendously strong, and include ten rows of *lilia* (as the Roman soldiers called them), stretching out to the north of the great ditch of the Vallum. The method of making these 'lilies' is described in detail in Caesar's *Commentaries*, but until now no actual example had been found either in Britain or abroad. The operations are being carried on by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The funds available are slender, and we regret to hear that the response to the recently-issued appeal has been far from satisfactory. Surely adequate support will be forthcoming.

ELSEWHERE on the line of the Vallum the spade has been busy, and again to excellent purpose. The liberality of Mr. Whitelaw of Gartshore has made it possible to carry out a systematic examination of the fort on the Bar Hill, which lies on his estate. *Fort on Bar Hill.* The results are of the highest interest. Although time and the plough had destroyed almost all surface traces of the Roman station, skilful excavation has recovered a large proportion of the original framework. While there is little to attract a casual visitor, the trained eye is able to detect the lines laid down by the engineers and architects of Lollius Urbicus, if not also to trace the long sought handiwork of Agricola. The harvest of 'finds' has been extraordinarily rich. They have been removed to a temporary resting-place. When fully arranged and described, they will provide an admirable illustration of the surroundings amidst which the Roman auxiliaries kept watch on the frontiers of the empire. All interested in the early history of our country owe a debt of gratitude to Mr. Whitelaw and to his factor, Mr. Park, to whose energy and thoroughness the success of the excavations is in large measure due.

THE St. Andrews Antiquarian Society having obtained permission to dig within certain parts of the ruined Cathedral, in the hope of finding a crypt or sub-chapel, operations were begun on the 3rd of August, 1903. We are indebted to Mr. Hay Fleming for the following notes on the Society's work: *Recent digging in St. Andrews Cathedral.*

As yet no crypt or sub-chapel has been found, but several interesting discoveries have been made. The piers which carried the great central tower were and still are connected underground by broad massive walls. These walls have been very roughly built, and lime has been sparingly used. They vary in breadth, the one between the north-east pillar and the south-east pillar measuring nine feet eight inches; the one between the south-east pillar and the south-west pillar, ten feet eight inches; the one between the south-west pillar and the north-west pillar, eleven feet six inches. Of each of these walls the top is about three feet below the present surface; but the central part of the last mentioned is only nine inches below the surface. All have been carried down to the virgin soil, at a depth varying from six feet nine inches to seven feet eight inches below the surface. No trench has yet been dug between the north-west pillar and the north-east pillar. Very little now remains of the north and south walls of the Lady Chapel, but the recently opened trenches proved that their foundations had been carried down to the rock.

A few yards to the westward of the site of the high-altar, a big, broken slab lies in the gravelled walk. This slab has not been interfered with; but a trench has been dug on the east side of it, and another on the west. In the first of these trenches, a skeleton was found, about three feet below the present surface, about two and a half below the old floor level. Professor Musgrove, who examined the bones carefully, said that they were those of a man about five feet nine inches in height, and, he thought, not over sixty years of age. Several iron nails were found, and a little bit of the wooden coffin. The latter, which is very much decayed, is being microscopically examined by Dr. John H. Wilson. His investigations, so far as they have gone, show that it is not fir. For various reasons, it may be assumed that the burial was pre-Reformation; and as several of the archbishops were interred in front of the high-altar, the bones are probably the remains of one of them. At the east end of this trench a skull was found, which was believed to be that of a man though somewhat of a feminine type. The rest of the skeleton lies, no doubt, between that end of the trench and the high-altar, but as the trench was not extended it was not disturbed. Several bones of the lower animals, including a small one of a shark, were found in this trench. They were probably carried there among the sea-sand which was largely in evidence.

In digging the trench on the west side of the big, broken slab, several very interesting details were observed. Many fragments of the old tiled floor were found, *in situ*, about five inches below the present surface. They were lying on a bed of good, rich lime; but few, if any, of them were lying quite level. Some were at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees. This was, no doubt, due to the impact when the stone roof fell; and the same catastrophe accounts for the tiles being all broken. Below the bed of lime there was a bed of sea-sand, eight or nine inches in thickness; and, below the sea-sand, another bed of lime. This lower bed of lime was much poorer in quality than the upper one. Below the lower bed, there were layers of mason's rubbish, streaked with layers of sea-sand, etc. Still lower there was a layer, about two feet thick, of dark, damp, rather greasy-looking soil; and below this, at a depth of about five feet from the surface, the natural soil was found, a rough, almost gravelly, brown sand. At the east end of the trench, and adjoining the big slab, a broad foundation-looking building was uncovered. One corner of the slab rests upon it. The stones are rough and undressed, but the lime has been excellent, and fragments of tiles were seen embedded among the stones. The top of the building is barely a foot below the surface. It is nine and a half feet from north to south, about four feet broad and one thick. A short tunnel was dug below this building, and in it a skull, several other bones, and two iron nails were found in the greasy-looking soil. These human remains, and those found in the other trench, were all carefully buried again. All the fragments of tiles which have been found are made of red clay. Many of them have bevelled edges. They vary in thickness from about half an inch to three times as much. Some of them bear no trace of glaze; but it may have been worn off by the traffic. Some have been covered with a yellow glaze, some with a black, some with a brown. None has been found with a pattern.

THE Hon. John Abercromby writes: Since August 17 I have been exploring some circular enclosures, with an internal diameter of from 55 to 60 ft., with a view to ascertaining their age and purpose. Six of these were well trenched without finding anything of a definite nature. But a circle with stones at intervals, which cuts the circumference of No. 1 enclosure and is close to two others, is proved to belong to the Iron Age. The circle was found to be paved, and from one edge of the pavement, without any break, a well-paved decline led down into a ruined underground house, which occupied the eastern corner between the circle and enclosure No. 1, where they touch. The length of the underground house, which was entirely filled with earth and stones, was about 30 ft.; it was slightly enlarged at the far end, and in shape was slightly curved. The average width was 6 ft., and the floor, cut 4 ft. deep into the hard pan, was 6 ft. below the surface. Its position externally was marked by a slight hollow in the ground. In the filling in of the earth-house, part of the upper stone of a quern, with a diameter of 16 inches, and a small angular piece of iron were picked up at a considerable depth. Charcoal and small pieces of burnt bone were found at various depths as well as on the floor. In the circle abundant traces of fire were found, both above and below the pavement, and a few minute fragments of bone occasionally detected in the burnt stuff.

Exploration at Dinnet, Aberdeenshire.

DR. T. H. BRYCE has just completed a systematic exploration, with the sanction of the Marquess of Bute, of the cairns and tumuli in the Island of Bute. He has ascertained that there are four cairns, now much ruined, of the same class of chambered cairn as he described in Arran. They are Michael's Grave, at Kilmichael, the Carn Ban in Lenihuline Wood, Bicker's Homes near Scalpsie Bay, and a cairn on the farm of Glecknabae. The interments in all were of burnt bones, and though no implements were recovered, one round-bottomed vessel of the same coarse black pottery as found in Arran was obtained as well as many scattered fragments.

Cairns and Tumuli of Bute.

The general conclusions from the Arran work—that these structures are of late Neolithic Age—thus holds for Bute, but the Glecknabae cairn presented features not hitherto observed. The chamber, though provided with a portal, is formed only of one compartment, some 5 ft. long by 3 ft. 6 in. wide. The chamber contained both burnt and unburnt interments, and the pottery is a type different from that observed elsewhere, being red in colour, while the vessels are small and flat in the bottom.

The Island is fairly rich in the short cist interments of the Bronze Age, such as found some years ago at Mount Stuart. Most of them have been disturbed, but a tumulus at Scalpsie yielded an untouched example. It contained a *burnt* interment associated with a fine food vessel richly ornamented, a bronze pin, a scraper and flakes of flint, and a jet bead.

This find contrasts, in the first place, with the earlier chambered cairns, and, in the second, with the Mount Stuart cist, which contained an *unburnt* interment, a bronze ring, and a necklace of beads of jet.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BURNS, representing a syndicate of Glasgow underwriters, has, by permission of the Duke of Argyle, been dredging with the lighter 'Sealight' in Tobermory harbour in quest of relics or treasure from a Spanish Armada vessel. One of the largest of the shattered fleet, making homeward round the north of Scotland, she drifted upon the shores of Mull, and was burnt and sunk off Tobermory in August, 1588. The search has been fortunate. A witness of the operations, writing in the *Scotsman* of 27th August, says: 'A pile of ancient timber, of warped iron work, of stone and iron cannon balls, as well as more gruesome relics in the shape of human bones and skulls, which lie upon the "Sealight's" deck, show that tradition has not lied, while a number of silver coins bearing the arms of Spain and the image and superscription of King Philip II., as well as certain larger articles, including a bronze breech-loading cannon, which has been removed to Glasgow, and which is now to be seen at the new Art Galleries there, furnish conclusive evidence that the spot has been located where the Spanish ship was sunk.'

From Spanish archives it has been ascertained that the name of the ship, traditionally preserved as the 'Florida,' was really the 'Florencia.' She was a galleon of over 900 tons, with a complement of 486 men, an excellent sample of the proud navy which fared so ill at the hands of Howard and Drake, and of which the scattered vessels sought safety in flight round the Scottish isles. 'Very many of them,' says Johnston's *Historia* 'were thrown up on the Scots and Irish shores: they filled the whole coast with heaps of dead and timbers of wreckage.' These were remains of such a fleet as, he says, 'neither our own nor previous ages ever saw on the ocean,' crowded with soldiery and equipped with all kinds of artillery (*tormentis*) and warlike gear. The guns and balls recovered are, in spite of their long immersion and rock-like lime-incrustation round the metal, wonderfully well preserved, and will enable specialists on firearms to take fairly exact details. Features of the bronze breech-loading gun have been described for us by a correspondent, who says:

The gun has a removable powder chamber which would hold about 8 ozs. of powder; the bore of the gun would admit of a ball weighing, if iron, about 7 ozs. The gun was recovered fully charged. The method of loading would appear to be: the ball would be inserted from the breech, then a wad of oakum, the powder being meantime loaded into the movable chamber, which would then be placed in position and wedged up. The touch-hole is in the chamber and a vent is provided to prevent the chamber being blown out by escaping gas. Many breech-loading iron guns of about the same period are in existence, but this is the only bronze one the writer has seen.

Among the greatest curiosities recovered are two pairs of compasses with the head of each leg formed into a semicircle, so that by their cross action the compasses can easily be extended or contracted as required with one hand. The points of the legs in the recovered pair, too, are turned, presumably for the protection of the chart when in use. One of the coins bears the date 1586. One large silver piece is encrusted upon the iron hilt of a sword, suggesting that its Spanish owner had it in his pocket, beside where his sword hung, when the 'Florencia' went down.

NOTHING could have been better in keeping with the spirit of the municipal movement which stirred the North to patriotic activity, and resulted in the Highland and Jacobite Exhibition held at Inverness in July, August, and September, than that the opening function should have been performed by Lochiel. And what apter association of past and present could have been found than the presentation, at the same function, of the freedom of the Highland capital to both Lochiel and Lord Lovat? At once Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire and heir of one of the proudest Jacobite names and memories, Lochiel happily symbolised that fusion of loyalty and sentiment which enables the clansmen whole-heartedly both to serve the King and honour Prince Charlie. Lochiel pleasantly discoursed on the transformed Jacobitism yet undying in the North, and justified its enthusiasm by claiming Queen Victoria as the keenest Jacobite of all.

*Jacobite
Exhibition
at
Inverness.*

Displayed in four rooms of the Free Library buildings in the Castle Wynd, the exhibits constitute a reliquary of the Stewart cause. Portraits bulk largely, such as those of the royal Stewarts, especially Prince Charlie, and of Flora Macdonald, Simon Lord Lovat and the 'gentle Lochiel.' Pictures and prints of historical events, castles, scenes, and battles are numerous. Such profusion there is of arms, guns, blunderbusses, pistols, claymores, broadswords, Ferraras by the half dozen, bullet-moulds, cannon balls, bullets, dirks, helmets, pikes, powder-horns, shields, targets, etc., that they would have respectably stocked any eighteenth-century clan armoury. Then there are plans, drill books, tartans, bonnets, sporrans, brooches, and what not. Only a few documents are in evidence. That an appreciable percentage of doubt should in spite of precautions attach to a variety of the many exhibits need be matter neither of offence nor surprise.

The promoters of the exhibition may well be congratulated on the fulness of its representative character as regards Jacobite memorials. As a Highland exposition, other than Jacobite, the collection, although varied and attractive, cannot claim to be adequate. Yet there is large illustration of the Highland past. Comprised in the catalogue are many curios indicative of Northern life from the stone age down to a recent time. The Raasay charm stone, or 'Clach Leighis,' is a unique Macleod heirloom. Very characteristic are fine examples of the bagpipes, one set of great value bearing date MCCCIX and decorated with Celtic tracery. Not a few pieces of metal work also display the native scroll decoration, sometimes accompanied by animal forms. There are many quaichs, and such a wilderness of snuff mulls that one wonders if snuff and Prince Charlie were allied tastes.

CO-OPERATIVE effort, so characteristic of this industrial age, has been conspicuous also in certain lines of study. Four publications may be instanced which, by their periodic appearance, had nearly come to be reckoned serials. First is the *Dictionary of National Biography* (Smith, Elder & Co.), of which the last volume, an epitome and index in itself invaluable, has just been sent out. The *Cambridge Modern History* (Cambridge Press), with still loftier design, promises not less ample pages, 'rich with the spoils of time.'

*The
Oxford
Diction-
aries.*

Of greater magnitude, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Frowde) is already far on its journey, having after fifteen years reached the word *leisurely*. Fourth of the type is the *English Dialect Dictionary* (Frowde) now approaching a close. Not one of these four series could have been brought into being without the assistance of many scholars; they are not individual products, but come from our intellectual commonwealth, and each of the four would alone constitute a liberal education. For history hardly less than for philology the Oxford Dictionary and the Dialect Dictionary—complements not rivals—are achievements of triumph. One has only to test a word to detect the research and learning these dictionaries imply. Professor Wright's work, the Dialect Dictionary, embodies results of such extensive search into Scottish dialects, examined for the first time from a broadly scientific standpoint, that it justifies its decidedly national claim. As seen in the compact and laborious columns of these dictionaries, full of the terms and signs of ancient and modern lore, life, and social usage, and curious with lingering or forgotten forms and manners of speech, the living dialects of our land pay marvellous tribute to the fidelity of tradition, and to the constancy with which the local inheritance and peculiar properties of language persist and transmit.

THE Stool of Repentance supplies Dr. William Cramond with the material for a capital paper in the *Scotsman*, 28th August, 1903, evidently grouping much information drawn directly from kirk session records. Although a remarkable symbol of the power of the Church in Protestant Scotland it was only a modified inheritance from Romanism. To Protestantism it owed its gradual specialisation for the benefit of fleshly sinners. Dr. Cramond shows that often the 'stool' was a large pew, prominent and apart, and hints that the requirements in many northern parishes could not have been satisfied with less. He rather surprises us in belittling the penitential exposure to which delinquents were subjected, broadly stating not only that there is no evidence in the north of Scotland that it was popularly regarded as a dreadful ordeal, but that on the contrary it 'was submitted to as a rule with perfect composure.' Our own impression from church records is so entirely opposite that we would almost as soon accept the doctrine that men as a rule submitted with perfect composure to being hanged! Surely the public antipathy to church censures, the difficulty there was in getting offenders to undergo discipline, and the severity of treatment not infrequently accorded to the rebellious, far outweigh any subjective inference that the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries recked little of the 'place of repentance.'

*The Stool
of Repent-
ance.*